

AFIO

Association of Former Intelligence Officers publishes a monthly newsletter PERISCOPE, which reflects their views and activities. Their purpose is to inform all segments of the public on the role of intelligence, to review current issues and proposed legislation involving intelligence to develop positions on such issues. which are made available to the public.

Statement of AFIO President, with concurrence of the Board

Against the background of the spate of stories circulating on the rationale for and impact of the impending reduction in CIA's Directorate of Operations, the AFIO President sought a meeting with a Senior Agency representative to elicit the basic facts. Admiral Turner and John Blake (Acting Deputy Director) received me on 18 November.

The Admiral assured me that the reduction represented no change in philosophy as to the importance of human intelligence in the overall scheme of things, that its role was recognized to be as vital as ever. He explained that the reductions in the Operations Directorate structure were concentrated almost exclusively in the headquarters element

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STAT with the objective of developing a more streamlined, responsive and professionally challenged staff. He further stated that the reduction was an Agency initiative, not mandated by any external authority; and that, in large measure, it conforms to a plan conceived in the Operations Directorate itself prior to the Admiral's appointment. The essential difference is that whereas the original plan was to reduce the size of that Directorate by

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positions over six years (with minimum "people" impact), the decision was to professional and semi-professional positions prior to the end of 1978, with none planned after that date. Parenthetically, the doubling of rate of reduction heightens the "people" impact. The Agency strength will not be reduced correspondingly as substantial new requirements exist elsewhere

STAT in the organization.

The Admiral stated that the selection of the personnel to be terminated early next year was in accord with standing Agency regulations. On the other hand, he was frank to admit that the notification procedures left something to be desired. Employment termination dates would be adjusted, on a case-by-case basis and to the extent feasible, to mitigate hardship. Overall, the Admiral was convinced that the reduction could be implemented without adverse impact on the Agency's clandestine operational intelligence and counter-intelligence collection capability.

The center line of AFIO interest in this matter stems from its conviction that a viable human intelligence capability is the indispensable complement to other collection means. Thus, AFIO is gratified by the assurance from the senior official of the U.S. intelligence community that the programmed reduction in the clandestine services does not portend any de-emphasis of the role of human intelligence.

Policy statement is one thing; implementation is quite another. AFIO accepts at face value the evaluation of the leadership echelon of the CIA that the reductions can be accomplished without deleterious effect on clandestine intelligence collection capabilities. None the less, two aspects of the reduction process will continue to command AFIO's attention. Both concern people who--more so than in any other institution--are hallmarks of an intelligence organization's competence, efficiency, and esprit.

The first recognizes the monumental problems of managing a cut of such severity in such a compressed time-period while still ensuring high operational capability and the "fundamentally healthy and patriotic attitude" that Admiral Turner states to be a characteristic of the Agency today. The designation of some 25% of the individuals to be eliminated from a single directorate has quite obviously generated morale problems of considerable magnitude. AFIO joins the chorus of voices which deplore the curtness of the termination notifications as well as the way those notifications were communicated and recommends these procedures be thoroughly reviewed. It is to be hoped that the lessons learned will be taken into account in managing the much larger increment to be designated for elimination in late 1978. Above all, AFIO will wish to be assured that there is no substantial loss in the continuity of operational experience and expertise on which future performance depends.

Our other concern--no less important--has to do with the welfare and future of the personnel being eliminated. Given the reductions already sustained by the Operations Directorate over the past four years, and also given the very high quality cross-section of that Directorate to begin with, the personnel involved are not "dead wood". To the contrary, they represent--individually and collectively--impressive talent, much of it unique. Unless personal preferences lie elsewhere, they should all be harnessed to key assignments, commensurate with ability, in other segments of public or private endeavors dealing with matters of national security. Nothing less

would be equitable for the individual concerned or in the best interest of our nation. AFIO undertakes to do everything in its power to assist in this process. Several corporations have already approached us indicating interest in resumes of personnel being terminated. If the members of AFIO link arms in this effort, there is much we can do to place these worthy individuals in new files of work.

National City, Calif.
Star News
(Cir. 2xW. 3,336)
(Sun 3,301)

DEC 4 1977

Explorer post to study careers with CIA, FBI

Chula Vista realtor Don Perry is organizing a new kind of program for Explorer Scouts who may be interested in going into such careers as those offered by the Central Intelligence Agency or Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Intelligence Assn. of San Diego County is sponsoring the new post (2101) for young people 16 to 20 years old, Perry said.

A charter meeting for all interested students and parents will be held Wednesday, starting at 7 p.m. in La Bella Pizza Garden, 373 3rd Ave., Chula Vista. The meeting is expected to last about 2½ hours, Perry said.

"Young people should bring \$4.40 for registration in the event they decide to join," Perry advised. He said that amount will cover a 15-month charter.

The post program will

cover career opportunities, school requirements, compensation and benefits in each career area involving intelligence work, Perry said.

The program committee has designed a schedule of field trips — behind the scene views of the world of national security.

Perry is president of the South Bay chapter of the Assn. of Former Intelligence Officers. He did three tours of duty in the intelligence field during his 25 years service in the Navy.

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Association of
Former
Intelligence
Officers



14 October 1977

Mr. Herbert Hetu
Special Assistant to the Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Hetu:

At our recent National Convention, Dave Phillips, founder of AFIO stepped down after two and one half years as President. The Board of Directors elected General Richard G. Stilwell USA Ret. as his replacement.

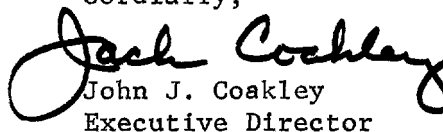
General Stilwell has had a distinguished military career including tours of duty with CIA. We are proud to have him as our President and we are sure that AFIO will continue to grow while maintaining the credibility established through Dave Phillips' efforts.

We believe it imperative that AFIO spokesmen express responsible views when called upon and that those views reflect positively on the intelligence community. We now believe that earlier charges that AFIO was a "community-supported propaganda front" have been successfully rebutted and that we no longer need to avoid overt contact with the various intelligence agencies.

To ensure that AFIO reflects current attitudes within the community, we think it important that General Stilwell meet with key officials of the community from time to time to be kept abreast of important policy or organizational matters which are not classified.

May I ask that you attempt to arrange a short meeting between General Stilwell and the Director? The time period of early November is suggested if convenient to the Director. You may contact me by phone should you have a question or desire additional information.

Cordially,


John J. Coakley
Executive Director

General Stilwell met with DCI
at 1630 hours on 18 November 1977



PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. III, NO. 4, WINTER ISSUE 1977

In Washington. . .

REPORT ON THE THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Association of Former Intelligence Officers — AFIO — held its Third Annual Convention on September 15 and 16 in Washington when delegates elected four new members to the Board of Directors, charted AFIO's course for the coming year, listened to a number of distinguished speakers and panelists and were advised of the election of new officers by the Board of Directors. GEN. Richard Stilwell, USA (Ret.) is the new AFIO president. Senator John R. Chafee (R-Rhode Island), was the speaker at the Friday night banquet.

The Chairman of AFIO's Board of Directors, Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., delivered the keynote address to 200 delegates assembled at the Marriott Twin Bridges Motel at the 15 September luncheon which opened the third reunion of former intelligence officers from all services. Kirkpatrick told the group that the survival of mankind may well depend on the strength of U.S. intelligence services; noted that it is unfair to use contemporary standards in looking back on actions taken in past years; and provided AFIO members with guidelines for the Association's policies and activities for the coming year. (See page 4 for the text of Chairman Kirkpatrick's address).

In addition to the election of General Stilwell as the new AFIO president, the Board of Directors announced that Col. Steve Hammond, USAF (Ret.) was re-elected as Vice President, as was Mrs. Frances Hoffmeier, Secretary. Mrs. Anita Potocki was elected Treasurer of the organization, taking over from Mr. Louis Napoli.

Following balloting by the delegates, the composition of the Board of Directors is the following: the term of service has ended for V/ADM. Rufus Taylor, Mr. James Flannery, Ms. Barbara Storer and Lt. Gen. Joseph Carroll, USAF (Ret.) Four new members of the Board were elected: the Honorable Clare Boothe Luce, Maj. Gen. Harold Watson, USAF, (Ret.), General Stilwell, and David A. Phillips. (As General Stilwell was subsequently elected President by the Board, his position on the Board will be assumed by Mr. John M. Maury, who with Mr. John S. Warner, must be confirmed by delegates at the next annual reunion as Directors). The four Directors who will serve through 1978 are Chairman Kirkpatrick, Mr. Richard Bissell, Dr. Ray S. Cline and Mr. Harry Rositzke. Tenures through 1979 will be held by Mrs. Helen Priest Deck, Mr. Robert Amory Jr., Col. Carl Eifler, LTG Daniel Graham, and Mr. William E. Colby. Col. George Weinbrenner, and Messrs. John Warner and John Maury, pending delegate endorsement, will serve through 1980.

The speaker at the Friday night closing banquet, Senator John H. Chafee, former Secretary of the Navy, told AFIO members that the United States and the Soviet Union might find it increasingly difficult to limit their strategic arms until they limit not only the number of existing launchers, but the number of warheads the two countries may have. Senator

Chafee emphasized the importance of the role the intelligence community must play in the verification of compliance with SALT and other arms agreements. The Senator is a member of the Select Committee on Intelligence, the third representative of that group to address AFIO meetings.

An undoubted high point of AFIO's 1977 convention was the Thursday afternoon session in which four recently retired senior military officers responded to the questions of two veteran journalists and unanimously deplored what they saw as the loss of American strategic position implicit in the planned

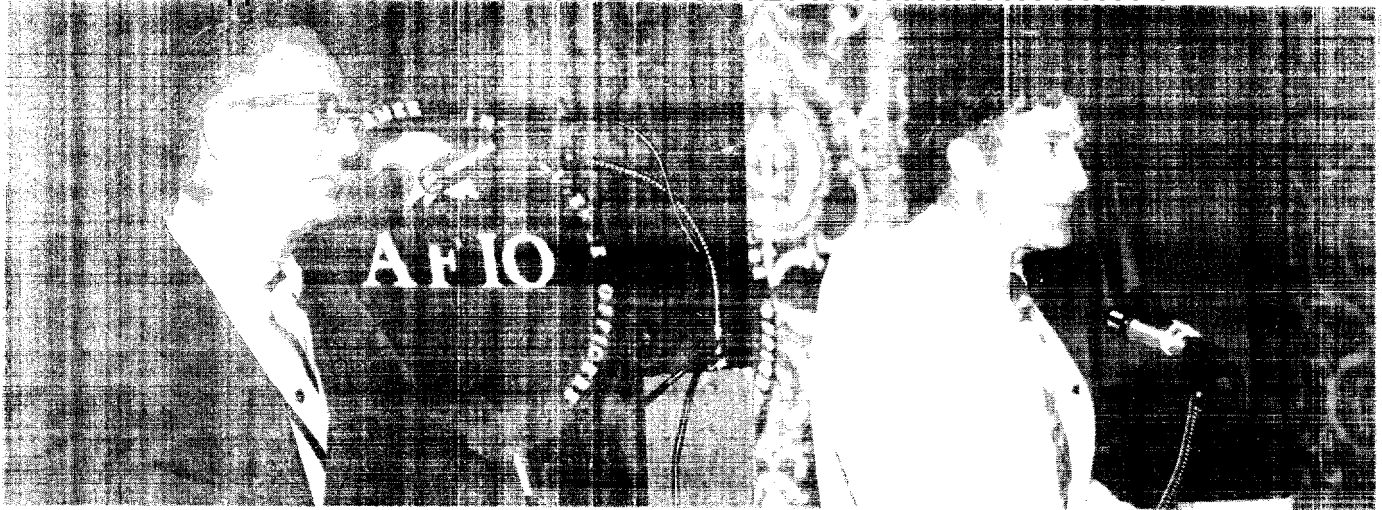
(Continued on page 2)

In this issue. . .

SPECIAL PHOTO SUPPLEMENT



Full Coverage of the 1977 Third AFIO Annual Convention may be found in this issue of *PERISCOPE*, including a special photographic supplement.



Principal speakers at the AFIO Convention were Mr. John Blake, then Acting DCI, at the Friday luncheon, and Senator John R. Chafee, a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, who addressed delegates at the closing Friday night banquet.

(Continued from page 1)

withdrawal from Korea and the proposed Panama Canal Treaties. The officers included AFIO's new President, recently retired General Dick Stilwell, whose last active assignment was commander of United Nations forces in Korea; former Marine Commandant General Robert E. Cushman who also served as Deputy Director of CIA a few years ago; General John W. Vogt, Jr., USAF Ret. and Admiral John S. McCain, USN Ret. The questioners were Dan Gilmore of UPI and Georgie Anne Geyer of the *Los Angeles Times*.

General Stilwell firmly declared that, in his view, there is no security rationale for the decision to withdraw American forces from the Korean peninsula. The others supported him and General Vogt specifically declared, in answer to a question, that with the three combat squadrons at present assigned to

Korean duty, the U.S. Air Force does not have sufficient strength to discharge the responsibility it will have after withdrawal to hold the line against invasion. General Stilwell added that while China and the Soviet Union are unlikely to intervene directly both will be forced to come to the aid of North Korea with supplies, if not troops, to pre-empt each other.

On the specific question of intelligence leaks and the role they play in the present international situation, General Vogt stated that the ever-present threat of such leaks is a strongly inhibiting factor in the formulation of appropriate policy, especially on intelligence matters.

Later Thursday afternoon AFIO delegates heard the observations of four experts on "Espionage in Fiction," in a seminar discussion moderated by Rod MacLeish, the well known CBS commentator and novelist. Panelists were Charles McCarry, a former intelligence officer and author of two recent best-selling novels, *The Tears of Autumn* and *The Secret Lovers*. Two AFIO members, *PERISCOPE*'s book reviewer Douglas Blaufarb and Curtis Carroll Davis, a reviewer for the *Baltimore Sun*, completed the panel.

The speaker at the Friday, 16 September luncheon was Mr. John Blake, Acting Director of the CIA. Mr. Blake advised the delegates of the current status of new legislation and answered questions from the floor concerning the reorganization of the intelligence community. (Mr. Blake represented DCI Admiral Stansfield Turner, who sent his regrets to AFIO as he was unable to appear because of international travel scheduled many months ago.)

On Friday afternoon, delegates heard a panel of three representatives from the Congress and the Executive Branch. John Maury was moderator of this discussion of the current status of the intelligence community, with specific emphasis on the issue of oversight. Mr. Hoskinson represented the National Security Council, Mr. Stanley Taylor the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and Mr. Frank Slatinchek, former legal counsel for the Nedzi

AFIO Convention Site To Be Rotational

After the Third National Convention the Board of Directors decided that the annual affair should be held at different locations each year to permit more members to attend. The 1978 convention will be held in San Diego, California in October or November. The tentative schedule for future conventions is:

- 1979 — Washington, DC area
- 1980 — Florida
- 1981 — Washington, DC area
- 1982 — Texas

The sites selected are based on the areas with the greatest member concentrations at the present time and are subject to change



Sixteen stars of experience discussed military matters and folded questions from journalists at the Convention. Left to right, Generals Richard Stilwell, John W. Vogt, Jr., and Robert E. Cushman. At the far right, Admiral John S. McCain.

Notes On The Light Side Convention III

...And here we are on the floor of AFIO Convention III (on the floor because there are few chairs and no ash trays at all) in historic Northern Virginia at the strategically, if somewhat clandestinely, located (BLEEP) Mosel where the Convention Coordinator doesn't speak to the Chief Engineer, who doesn't speak to the Maintenance Chief, who doesn't speak to the Manager, who doesn't speak to ANYBODY! As Jack Coakley put it, "This place is more compartmented than any Intelligence outfit I have ever known!"

However, it was nostalgic to have the feeling of operating under field conditions. The Class VI counterpart had provided no glasses, no ice, no tomato juice for Bloody Marys and there was no coffee available in the Persian Room for midsies when the temperature in the room was -30°F . (Sorry, Young Republicans, for borrowing a few cups of your coffee at break-time. But, we didn't eat any of your pastries. Honest!)

What difference if the K-Rattons ran out at the buffet dinner theater? The appearance of the *Young Columbians* was sufficient unto itself to save an entire evening from total disaster. They were so great! All those present surely wish this ensemble a long, satisfying and rewarding future. They deserve success.

The Roguettes were there in force, no longer the fleet-footed long distance runners of 1976, but nonetheless untangling as best they could the Registration snarls, smoothing ruffled feathers, and effectively adorning the Convention. This attractive crew included the smiling Anita Bease (HQs Tuesday girl as well), Bernice Coakley (that name is familiar), Fran Ho-fineier (Wednesday gal and Corporate Secretary par excellence), Mar Rizzotto (HQs relief pitcher and bubbly fountain of information), and Ly Warner. Virginia Thorne and Dottie Southerland (Thursday troops) with Pearson and Sally O'Connell handled the reception of delegates who had not pre-registered at a table marked, appropriately enough, "Welcome." Sorry if your correspondent missed anyone, but you were probably working so hard I never caught up with you.

Other hands without which Number III might well have collapsed! Al Wright, general factotum and Thursday chaperone to the office harem; Bruce Baumgardner, Will Potocki and Joe Rodriguez, Rum-runners and bartenders of note; photographers Gene Haas, who donated the services of a professional lensman and George King, who suffered a heart attack on Saturday, but is now doing well; Doug Blaufarb and Dodie King who prepared press-releases for delegates; and Larry Evans who not only trucked material to the Convention site, but quite by chance "stopped by" the Motel on Saturday to see if anything else needed to be carted off. It did — several boxes, cartons, typewriters and one, nearly apologetic Jack Coakley who had arrived with a yellow pad full of complaints for the manager but without his reading glasses with which to read them. "No problem," said Jack, "the complaints were indelibly imprinted on my mind."

The errors and snafus were surely offset by positive developments. A mood of congeniality prevailed, probably because we were better acquainted and less hesitant in speaking our minds to each other. A cadre of "three-timers" was very much in evidence. (Do we get a medal for perfect attendance, chief?) In addition, the speakers, moderators and panelists were outstanding. To listen to such men as Lyman Kirkpatrick or

the panel on "Espionage in Fiction" or the military panel "The men may have retired, but neither their minds nor their humor have stepped down!" or the Congressional/Executive Oversight panel was to stretch our minds and comprehension — a very good thing in this day of chronic lazy-brains.

We were delighted to welcome a number of distinguished visitors: LTG Harold R. Aaron, Vice Director of DIA; General R. Gordon Hoxie (AF Retired, currently President of the Center for the Study of the Presidency; Reed J. Irvine, Chairman of Accuracy in Media, and Reverend Edward L. Elson formerly National Presbyterian Pastor, now Chaplain of the Senate, who delivered both the Invocation and Benediction at the closing dinner on Friday night.

The prize for distance travelled would have to be shared by Bill Donahue who came from Dublin, Ireland and Mike Gardner who flew in from West Germany specifically for the AFIO Convention. And over fifty percent of the delegates came from outside the Greater Washington area — California, Texas, Florida and New England providing major representations.

Great as the debt must be to the HQs Office volunteers led by McLean (after all—they answer telephones, file, type and photocopy and "locals" on pick-up and deliver missions, fend off "nuts," etc., etc.) there are many others without whom the advancement and solidification of AFIO's purposes could never have been realized. For example, Dave Phillips who had the righteous indignation, imagination, and courage born of honest conviction to get the show on the road. Cheers also to AFIO's Board of Directors who have met, deliberated, advised and consented to the direction AFIO is taking. Particular kudos must also go to the Chapter Coordinators who have made the supreme effort to assure that AFIO does not become a parochial Washington pressure group.

More scholarly and definitive evaluations of the effectiveness of this Convention will be found elsewhere in this *PERISCOPE* but just a few personal observations for the road. Convention III had a different atmosphere — a change of tempo, an altered beat, a deeper sense of dedication. There was less of the hectic "cuckoo-nest" chaos of Convention II and more of the measured, analytical evaluation of AFIO's past and, more importantly, of AFIO's future. This is not to say the atmosphere was one of "gloom-doom-soon," but rather the sense of an organization which has come to believe — really believe — in itself, to realize its strengths and weaknesses and to sort out its priorities. From conversations with a number of delegates the consensus appeared to be that we must increase our output of solid, factual, unadorned information and get such information into the hands of responsible legislators. A second recurring theme was the need to reach educational institutions with as much instructional material as we can possibly produce. If the young people swallow even half of the media balderdash expunging intelligence, where will the next generation of leaders, not to mention professional intelligence officers come from?

We are still learning, seeking and growing — a painful process — but as any devotee of Spock's Child Care manuals can attest, the learning, reaching-out and growing years are the hardest.

See you in San Diego in September '78!

Pat Stringham

Keynote Address By Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. To The Annual Convention

The Association of Former Intelligence Officers, is now entering its third year. The need for the existence of this organization is as great today, indeed perhaps even greater, than it was when David Phillips became the founding father in 1975. Three years ago the intelligence agencies with which we served were lead items each day in the public media. Today the headlines are on a much less frequent basis. While the absence of a daily barrage of unwanted publicity may make life more bearable for those dedicated public servants who serve the intelligence agencies, it does not lessen the necessity for members of AFIO to persist in its educational campaign stressing the necessity for timely and accurate intelligence in a world in which the survival of man may well rest on the ability of the United States government to be adequately informed.

It is therefore my intention in presenting the keynote for this convention to analyze the mission of this organization: to say what I believe we should do, and to suggest to you what we should not be. In some respects the latter is an easier task, and therefore I shall start with that and conclude on a positive approach. We should not:

- be an organization which supports anything but a national viewpoint. Our former allegiances to one agency or one viewpoint must be subordinated to what is best for the United States. It is not an issue of military intelligence vs. the State Department, or the CIA vs. the FBI, or civilians vs. military. We are a national organization.

We should not:

- try to inject our views in the day-to-day management of the intelligence community. In our day we did not appreciate that type of intrusion. We have an ample challenge on broad policy matters to fully occupy us.

We should not:

- dissipate our energies in useless debate with irresponsible critics. The searchlight of truth ultimately will expose the inaccuracies. Our principal asset is candor and we should be most precise in our public statements.

We should not:

- try to relive history by explaining what was done in the 1940s, 50s and 60s. We should recognize that we live in a new era with new concepts of propriety and evolving interpretations of the law. Indeed a report this year by the Department of Justice in regard to the mail opening program says:

"It would be mistaken to suppose that it was always clearly perceived that the particular mail opening programs of the CIA were obviously illegal. The Department believes that this opinion is a serious misperception of our Nation's recent history, of the way the law has evoked and the factors to which it responded. . . .

The Justice Department report goes on to say:

" . . . a substantial portion of the period in which the conduct in question occurred was marked by a high degree of public concern over the danger of foreign threats. The view both inside, and to some extent, outside the government was that, in response to exigencies of national security, the President's constitutional power to authorize collection of intelligence was of extremely broad scope." (p. 3-4)

The Justice report notes that until 1972 courts held that prior judicial scrutiny was unnecessary when surveillance involved national security. (p. 27)

In this report from which I have quoted, the Justice Department concluded that there was sufficient evidence of proper authorization of the programs and recommended that no federal action should be taken against the intelligence officers concerned.

It stated:

"The agency's highest officials could have every reason to suppose that, within the government itself, the program was thought fully consistent with the government's purposes, responsibilities, and power." (p. 47)

"If the potential defendants in fact had a reasonable belief that they were acting pursuant to lawful presidential authorization, a prosecution so many years later could appear a vindictive kind of second-guessing." (p. 48)

One of the consultants used by the Department of Justice in the preparation of their report commented to the effect that a trial of this case would open a searching inquiry into the perceptions of a generation of Americans, would tend to indict an era, and would raise fundamental jurisdictional questions concerning the application and use of criminal law. (p. 46)

We should recognize that it is not infrequent in history for a political generation to indict its predecessors of two or three decades especially when within that period the nation has experienced a constitutional crisis, an unsuccessful war, severe internal racial issues, not to mention economic problems. We should be proud that the ship of state is secure and in judging current events exercise that balanced good judgment for which the intelligence profession is noted.

One of the basic concepts of intelligence work is being challenged by present practices and this is a matter of serious concern. I refer to the agreement of confidentiality that is so basic to most intelligence work: whether it be a pledge to an agent that his or her identity and activities will remain forever secret; an agreement with a foreign person or organization; or the production of reports based upon sources which should forever be protected. To breach these contracts is a violation of trust. Americans have prided themselves on being people of their word who make an agreement and abide by it. It appears to me now that we should recall this philosophy as far as the government's word is concerned. Many persons prepared papers, developed projects and took actions which were classified "Secret" at the time. It should be remembered that in nearly every instance these people were working under the direction of lawfully constituted authority, and also to be recalled is that everybody signed an agreement not to divulge classified information. To make new codes of conduct the standard for past actions certainly raises questions of fairness, and furthermore indicates the possibility of a double standard. The argument has been made that the government cannot require employees to refrain from discussing secret material upon leaving the service because it constitutes prior restraint. It is also argued that the government has no obligation to refrain from releasing for publication material that was prepared by persons under the impression that such material would remain a government secret.

With the very fundamental principle of confidentiality under attack I strongly recommend that AFIO sponsor the preparation of a study on this subject for the benefit of public education. This should analyze the Freedom of Information Act and analyze what correctly should be kept secret. We all know that there are abuses of classification and we have no desire to perpetuate such practices.

The broad application of the Freedom of Information Act to intelligence agencies may well be a serious misapplication of a sound principle. Revelations of past intelligence activities are most difficult to place in the proper context of ten, twenty or thirty years ago and institutions and individuals operating at that time in accordance with perceived needs and with proper authorization may be placed in an unfavorable position.

I therefore am proposing that there be a reexamination of this policy. We should recognize that there will be those who look upon the Freedom of Information Act as a guarantee against future abuses by the intelligence agencies. But I personally am convinced that until the United States intelligence activities are no longer a matter of constant revelations of formerly highly classified information our services will not be able to obtain the intelligence necessary for the security of this nation. I am sure that I do not have to point out to you that it is very difficult if not impossible to maintain the confidence and cooperation of those persons who constitute the core of our foreign intelligence collection system if these individuals must be constantly concerned that their activities might become public.

The work of the intelligence agencies can be kept within proper boundaries by the continual vigilance of the control and inspection bodies within the agencies, of the review bodies within the Executive Branch, and by the oversight of the now established Senate and House Intelligence Committees. I would remind you that this association always has been firmly committed to aggressive and responsible oversight on the part of Congress. It is the best and only guarantee against a repetition of the conditions which brought about the investigations of 1975. We must support the efforts of the Congressional Committees in all respects.

For the future we must redouble our efforts of the past two years. I commend you one and all for the work you have done in developing state and regional organizations. The work done in supplying speakers has been of a high order and should be continued and expanded. I feel it is an obligation of every member of this association to be available to speak or discuss the problems of the intelligence community, or to provide somebody who can. Consequently it also is important that AFIO have a national research bureau manned by volunteers and assisted by contributions of prepared materials from friends and members. Our goal is to place in proper perspective exactly what the intelligence agencies do, and therefore the more talks and discussion groups throughout the United States, the better we will be doing our job. This effort should be supported by



Top Panel, left to right: Florida State Chairman Stan Phillips and Bruce Baumgardner chat with Caroline Nelson; three panelists discuss Executive and Congressional oversight, Frank Slatinchek, former counsel for the Nedzi Committee, Stanley Taylor of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and Samuel Hoskinson of the NSC. John Maury was the moderator; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Conner stand before the AFIO Life Member board. Second Panel: AFIO's Board of Directors and officers conclave to consider new officers and Directors. Vice President Steve Hammond. Helen Priest Deck, John Warner, Carl Eifler, Bill Colby and Jim Flannery. Also attending, but outside the camera's view were Chairman Kirkpatrick, George Weinbrenner, Bob Amory, Danny Graham, David Phillips, Barbara Storer, Harry Rositzke, Ray Cline and Fran Hoffmeier; Al and Anne Spera smile for the photographer; Marie Strickler and, on the far right Nancy Fogarty and Gil Strickler. Third Panel: a trio of AFIO office volunteers; Virginia Thome, Liz Warner and Dottie Southerland; Eva Popovich is beguiled by dapper New York delegate Derek Lee; Former DIA Director Danny Graham guest LTG Harold R. Aaron, Vice Director of DIA, enjoy something said by Mary Rizzotto, stalwart AFIO office volunteer. Bottom Panel: Another photographer was around to take this one of Convention photographers George King and Gene Haas, who pose with Pat Stringham; and Dave Phillips and Jack Coakley confab during a luncheon break.



Top Panel, left to right: two Pennsylvania delegates meet in the halls of the AFIO Convention, Frank Schramko and Oscar Stroh; three former intelligence officers discuss espionage in fiction: Curtis Carroll Davis, book-reviewer for *The Baltimore Sun*, PERISCOPE's Doug Blaufarb, author of the recently-published *The Counterinsurgency Era*, and Charles McCarry, whose latest novel, *The Secret Lovers*, has been on the best-seller lists. Moderator of the discussion was Rod MacLeish, author and CBS commentator. Second Panel: three filmstrips of Convention delegates. If you use a magnifying glass you might find yourself! Third Panel: AFIO's Central Coordinator, George Weinbrenner, is pleased to find another Texas delegate, Stu Kalmus, of Dallas, in this quartet; Gil Layton has something to say to "Brandy" Carlin and Bill Colby. Bottom Panel: Rita Kirkpatrick and Paul Paxton; the panel of military experts at the Convention's opening seminar were asked hard questions by UPI correspondent Dan Gilmore and syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer, both of whom were reporters in Vietnam.



Chairman of the Board of Directors Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., delivered the keynote address at the Thursday luncheon, suggesting future policy and practices for AFIO. Attentive listeners, at right, are Vice President Steve Hammond and new Director Hal Watson, both veteran Air Force intelligence professionals.

studies such as I have proposed on the subject of the *Confidentiality of Intelligence Activities* prepared by AFIO's headquarters and distributed nationally.

There are other subjects of major importance on which studies should be prepared — some on a crash basis. The administration and the Congress are nearing the completion of a major bill on the Organization and Mission of the intelligence community. There are those who hope that this may be passed before the adjournment of the first session of the present Congress. This is the most important legislation on intelligence in thirty years. It will solidly establish how the U.S. intelligence community functions for the rest of this century. I consider it absolutely essential that the members of AFIO have the opportunity to study this legislation in advance of passage and make their views known.

There are other studies that I would like to see AFIO undertake. I cite the above two because I see them as a matter of priority, but when I think of the immense reservoir of experience and talent which we have in AFIO there seems no limit to our contribution. For example:

—the issue of domestic intelligence activities, which has both potentialities and limitations, could be looked at by AFIO members free from both the pressures and passions of a government study.

—we left the problems of requirements for intelligence collection in a still difficult state. Could not a forum of our membership produce some suggestions of value?

—and as a last suggestion, but one of great importance, how about a study of “the intelligence person”? In a profession where people are the most important asset, cannot the perspective and contemplative reflection of this organization be of considerable value? This I set as the keynote to this convention the proposal that we make use of the extensive expertise of our membership to prepare, distribute and monitor the action on studies of permanent value.

We have built an important organization with a national impact. Our mission now is to follow-through and on a continual basis insure that we achieve lasting results.

TAX EXEMPT STATUS OF AFIO

By letter, dated August 17, 1977, the Internal Revenue Service determined that AFIO was exempt from Federal Income tax under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Having timely filed notice of intent to be exempt, our exemption is retroactive to the date of formation of our organization.

Donations to AFIO are deductible by the donor as a charitable contribution on Federal Income tax returns. In the opinion of counsel certain other items are similarly deductible:

1. Annual dues and dues of life members.
2. Out-of-pocket and unreimbursed expenditures incurred in performing services for AFIO. Included would be travel and transportation expenses, cost of meals and lodging while away from home, telephone calls, and car expenses at \$.07 a mile, plus parking fees and tolls.
3. Travel expenses to the National Convention, but only for Directors, Officers and designated delegates from local Chapters.

Those who wish to amend prior year returns to reflect deductible items should use Form 1040X obtainable from local Internal Revenue Offices.

Excerpts from a story in the Providence *Journal* on the address by Senator John R. Chafee to AFIO's Friday night banquet:

"Let's not fool ourselves," he said. "Launchers won't destroy the world, but warheads might. We must be sure that warheads are limited, not just launchers."

He also called on the United States to try to get the Soviet Union to "strictly limit" so-called "killer satellites," which could knock out opposing satellites used to monitor compliance with strategic arms accords.

Chafee, who is asserting himself in the field of national security, was looking beyond the current difficult negotiations aimed at sealing a SALT II agreement and toward talks that could be held years from now in an effort to forge an agreement to succeed SALT II — if SALT II does indeed reach fruition.

The arms control agreement now in effect is SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks). But its five-year life expired Oct. 3.

The two sides are scheduled to resume negotiations in Washington towards a SALT II accord. The talks have focused on a ceiling on the number of launchers both sides can have, rather on the number of warheads that can be deployed in these launchers.

One widely reported approach would limit each side to 2,400 launchers, of which no more than 1,320 could contain more than one warhead.

While the number of warheads is mentioned, the practical effect would not be to reduce to the number of warheads now in place.

With the launchers and not the warheads themselves subject to limits, Chafee said he was worried that exploding American and Soviet technology will, by 1985 — the expiration date of any SALT II agreement — reach the point "where incredible numbers of separate missiles of enormous destructive power . . . can be fitted into a single launcher.

"We might proudly proclaim," Chafee said, "that strategic arms have been effectively limited, because there are ceilings as to the number of initial delivery systems.

"However," he warned, "without a strict limit on the number of warheads, the launcher limits may be in the near future, virtually meaningless."

Chafee also praised the success of U.S. intelligence gathering in measuring "Soviet accomplishments in the strategic arms field." Such intelligence gathering, he indicated, plays an important part in monitoring Soviet compliance with any strategic arms agreement.

Because such verification techniques are so important to preserving SALT agreements, he expressed concern over reports that the Soviets were testing the so-called killer satellites which, presumably, could deactivate American satellites monitoring Soviet strategic arms deployment.

ON THE INTELLIGENCE BOOK SHELF

...Current

books of interest to intelligence buffs and watchers of the world scene. All reviews are by AFIO members.

John Le Carre *THE HONOURABLE SCHOOLBOY*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1977, \$10.95.

For buffs of spy fiction John Le Carre is up there with Shakespeare. His work has depth, breadth, and a kind of poetry that comes from a vision of good men struggling against odds to serve good causes in a dubious craft where danger lurks and mistakes cost lives. Another thing about this author is that he grows. His latest work, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, is his most ambitious. It is a great steamship round of beef with cuts for all tastes. It has moments of lyricism, of hair-raising action, of exotic color and poignant charm. The scene and scenery leap about from England and Italy to Hong Kong, Cambodia, and northern Thailand during the final acts of the Southeast Asian war.

Le Carre clearly worked up his detail in the field. Aside from a few minor errors, such as seeing teak forests in northeast Thailand where there aren't any, he observed well. His scenes of the last days of Phnom Penh under Lon Nol will hit old Southeast Asia hands with the force of a heavy blow in the stomach. He has also captured the festering charm and incredible ironies of the British crown jewel of Hong Kong, where much of the action takes place.

One could go on about the broad reach and literary finesse of this book. For example, Le Carre has a rare understanding of how large government institutions work their wills and interact with both their native and foreign institutions. This is true not only for British agencies but also, to a surprising degree, of interaction between American intelligence agencies. These and other meaty qualities are displayed in the course of a narrative which recounts an attempt to neutralize a hostile (that is, Soviet-controlled) intelligence asset exfiltrating from China, by apprehending (or, more accurately, snatching) him at the point where he enters controlled territory, which is Hong Kong itself.

The master mind trying to control the action is none other than George Smiley, an old friend of Le Carre's readers, older, fatter but no less sure or cunning than in previous encounters. Smiley has been handed the job of rebuilding a British Secret Intelligence Service shattered by the unmasking of a long-time Soviet penetration at the top of the outfit. In the fictional version Smiley is said to have played the principal role in the unmasking (as told in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*). Nothing is said about any role played by the American liaison service — never named but clearly intended to be CIA. That service, however, looms large in the exploitation of the new case which Smiley develops as a means of rehabilitating his diminished and devalued empire. (The actual case on which this portion of the story is based was of course rather different. It would be a little much to expect of Le Carre to stick to the rather unflattering facts.)

The new case becomes the core of the book, a tense and suspenseful chase across Southeast Asia performed mostly by a middle-aged and somewhat bruised, spindled and bent case officer under newspaper cover. (Ah, what would modern spy fiction be without newspaper cover?) The details need not detain us; as a case, its improbabilities are about average for spy fiction which, of course, could not subsist on the thin gruel of most actual operations. The best of the book is in the well-drawn and intriguingly oddball characters, the detail of the settings and the author's sure feel for the irreducible and tattered humanity that persists obstinately in the cracks and seams of the government services he deals with and most particularly of SIS which, clearly, Le Carre unabashedly loves. In the end we remember such things as the saintly Smiley walking in the rain, carrying his forgotten raincoat, mourning the deaths of two agents; the "honourable schoolboy" (the aforesaid middle-aged case officer), mourning the brutal death of his American side-kick, and similar passing revelations of the humanity of people behaving with normal humanity toward each other despite the strains and ambiguities of their work. To this author SIS is a small band of brothers sticking together in the teeth of everything a hostile world can throw at them.

Granted his sophistication and understanding of the mechanics of clandestine operations, his mastery of pace and setting, therein is the real secret of Le Carre's superiority. A pity he chooses to depict the American "cousins" of SIS (i.e., CIA) with a lack of the precise kind of sympathy which makes much of his work memorable. Ah, well, you can't have everything. Read it anyway. You will enjoy it.

Douglas Blaufarb

NOTES FROM NATIONAL...

CHANGING YOUR ADDRESS? — Please remember to include AFIO in your list of people to be notified should you move. When we mailed the last issue we asked the Postal Service to provide us with address corrections and discovered that close to 200 of the addresses in our files were incorrect! Since bulk mail is not forwarded, those members had not been receiving any of our mailings.

MEMBERSHIP CARDS — With this mailing you have received your new membership card. This card is intended to last for several years. You will note the date of issue is the time you initially joined the Association. Your membership number is also shown and should be used in correspondence with us in case we can't make out your handwriting. The last date on the card is the day and month when your annual dues are payable in 1978 and subsequent years. Reminders will be included in *PERISCOPE*. If there was no card with this issue it means that our records do not indicate payment of your 1977-1978 dues. Please contact us. Life Members have been issued a temporary card and will receive permanent metal cards in the near future.

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY — The new Membership Directory and your Membership Certificate will be mailed within the next two weeks. The certificate is suitable for framing and is free of charge.

WASHINGTON AREA WINTER LUNCHEON — Members in the Washington area and visitors are invited to attend the Winter Luncheon on December 7, 1977 at the Officers' Club in Ft. Myer, Virginia. Guests are welcome. Reservation forms will be sent in November but mark your calendar now.

CHARTER FLIGHT TO 1978 CONVENTION PLANNED — We hope to offer a charter flight from Washington to San Diego. Based on existing fares, the cost would be about \$215.00 per person round trip. With members from the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast states we should be able to reach the required number of 184 passengers. Those interested should advise us on a tentative basis as soon as possible so we can begin planning.

D.C. MONTHLY LUNCHEONS — Washington area members are reminded that the "strictly social" monthly lunch is held on the LAST Tuesday of each month at Hogate's Restaurant on Maine Avenue. Reservations not required but a phone call would be appreciated.

EDITORS AND WRITERS WANTED. At the AFIO Convention two delegates approached the *PERISCOPE* editor offering to help. Both names were jotted down, and promptly lost. Will the two volunteers — and anyone who wishes to work on our publication — contact the office?

JACK COAKLEY



Why the serious look of concern on the face of Life Member William Potocki? Because he had been drafted on Thursday night at the AFIO Convention to man the cash. Bill did a professional job for AFIO but all tips went into the Convention treasury.

AFIO Life Member Honor Roll

The number of AFIO Life Members has reached 88 with the addition of the generous contributors listed below and two members who asked that they not be listed. Once again the list includes a husband and wife team with donations from Chairman of the Board Kirkpatrick and Mrs. Kirkpatrick.

| | |
|--|---|
| Mr. Thomas Baldwin Evansville, Indiana | COL Harold G. Holcombe Jr. USAR Ret. Hartford, Connecticut |
| Mr. Ezra C. Bell Jr. Juno Beach, Florida | Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. Narragansett, Rhode Island |
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Remember Life Membership is available to both Full and Associate Members. The contribution is \$150.00 regardless of the age of the Member and is tax deductible.

IN MEMORIAM

Rear Admiral Eugene E. Cragg USNR Ret. in August 1977 at San Diego, California

S. Herman Horton in August 1977 at Cape Coral, Florida

Colonel Peter C. Economy USAF Ret. on September 22, 1977 at Springfield, Virginia

Lester D. Johnson on April 17, 1977 at Cape Coral, Florida

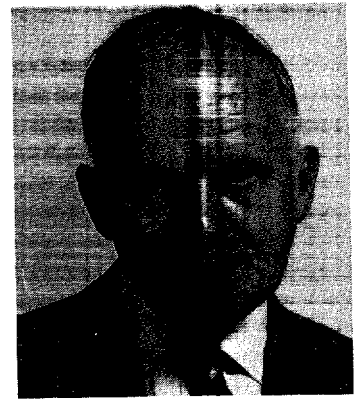
FROM THE DESK OF DICK STILWELL...

I am at once humble and proud that your Board of Directors has seen fit to entrust me with the operational reins of AFIO. Humility is underscored by the contrast between my own limited experience in the intelligence field and the rich expertise and notable achievements of the membership at large. The reasons for pride need no elaboration. I counted it a privilege simply to be accepted as a member of an organization whose objectives relate so directly to the preservation of our national security and to have the opportunity to rub shoulders with Americans of your persuasion.

You have my solemn assurance that I'll do my level best to discharge my responsibilities to you. The Members of the Board have proffered full assistance in keeping me on course. Nonetheless, it will be extraordinarily difficult to fill the outsize boots of Dave Phillips, founder and guiding spirit of AFIO. On behalf of all, I salute him for the unflagging sense of mission, the sustained drive and the many personal sacrifices which combined to power our Association into public view, give it vitality and endow it with credibility. Dave and that small band of like-minded professionals (you know who they are) who labored in tandem with him can take deserved credit for the fine reputation the Association now enjoys with the incumbent Administration, the Congress, and — yes — the media. You will be both pleased and reassured to know that Dave remains in harness as editor of the *PERISCOPE* and as a valued counsellor.

With our credentials as a responsible and responsive institution firmly established, we now gear for substantive tasks. Lyman Kirkpatrick's convention keynote speech — reproduced in this issue and commended to your reading — outlines ways in which AFIO can expand its activities and enhance its contributions by exploiting the unique talent bank that our membership constitutes. Our Chairman of the Board is, as always, right on target! AFIO has only one real resource. It is you, the members, with your aggregate knowledge, experience and dedication. Thus the effectiveness of this Association will be a function of your personal interest and involvement.

There can be no question of the central thrust of our efforts. It is to assure that the United States intelligence



and security forces which collectively comprise the "community" are always capable of meeting the rigorous demands of national security. When it comes to intelligence the best is *not* the enemy of the good. The kind of community we believe in must have adequate resources, sound structure and harmonious interfaces. Its hallmarks must be competence, efficiency and esprit. None of these will be obtained without public support.

There are threats afoot. On the one hand, we must be alert to the surfacing of plans — perhaps well intentioned but short-sighted — which would erode the community's capability to protect the national interest. More sinister are the strident, well-financed groups which deliberately aim at disrupting and demoralizing our entire intelligence structure. Both must be countered by presenting a reasoned, objective view to policy makers, legislators and influential segments of the public sector. Where intelligence is concerned, we can offer the best "consulting service" in the United States.

What can you do? First, we clearly need to increase our visibility in and contacts with the general public. This is best accomplished through the regional and local chapters in ways best suited to the particular environment. Second, each new member represents an additional voice to carry our message. Surely we can all recruit one. I suggest a greater effort to enlist associate members. Many civic leaders, businessmen, academicians and professionals believe just as strongly about the requirement for a viable intelligence community as we do. They are valuable allies.

If you are to be constructively involved, you must be informed. The Washington office recognizes that as a major responsibility. To begin with, we intend to increase the frequency of *PERISCOPE* issues and expand its content. And we have tasked certain members to review drafts of pending legislation and Executive orders; AFIO analysis and comments — will be forthcoming. Meanwhile, we encourage your thoughts on how we can better provide the support you need in maximizing your participation.

For a new boy in the form, I have already said too much. But one more word. Let me underline Lyman Kirkpatrick's comment about avoiding parochialism in our ranks. In my estimate, there is a direct relationship between our reputation and the ecumenical nature of AFIO. Precisely because — and only because — our Association embraces former members of every U.S. intelligence organization, we can objectively address matters affecting the entire community. Ours must always be a community approach, uncolored by our past affiliations or functional duties.

With a team like ours, focussed on a clear-cut mission, the year ahead holds much promise.

PERISCOPE is published quarterly by the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, Suite 303A, 6723 Whittier Ave., McLean, VA. 22101. Phone (703) 790-0320.

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Assistant Editor: Pat Stringham
Assistant Editor: Douglas Blaufarb
Convention Photography: George King
Gene Haas

PERISCOPE welcomes contributions from AFIO members, especially articles which highlight an unknown contribution to national security by intelligence agencies, or reminiscences which would be of interest to our readers. When possible, the articles should be limited to seven hundred to one thousand words.

Any material herein may be reproduced if attributed to the Association of Former Intelligence Officers. PERISCOPE is distributed widely in Washington, with copies delivered to the office of each member of Congress and key government officials.

BY LYMAN B. KIRKPATRICK, JR., CHAIRMAN
DIRECTORS TO THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
ION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS,
INIA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1977

ation of Former Intelligence Officers, is now
third year. The need for the existence of this
as great today, indeed perhaps even greater,
n David Phillips became the founding father

s ago the intelligence agencies with which
lead items each day in the public media.
ines are on a much less frequent basis.
ce of a daily barrage of unwanted publicity
ore bearable for those dedicated public
rve the intelligence agencies, it does
necessity for members of AFIO to persist in its
paign stressing the necessity for timely
telligence in a world in which the survival
rest on the ability of the United States
e adequately informed.

efore my intention in presenting the keynote
tion to analyze the mission of this organiza-
hat I believe we should do, and to suggest
to you what we should not be. In some respects the latter
is an easier task, and therefore I shall start with that
and conclude on a positive approach. We should not:

-be an organization which supports anything but a
national viewpoint. Our former allegiances to one
agency or one viewpoint must be subordinated to what
Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4
is best for the United States. It is not an issue

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

September 22, 1977

Human Resources Committee today on an urgent matter. The Indochinese refugee assistance program will expire September 30, 1977, unless Congress acts to extend this program. Mr. Breen was here to urge Congress to act quickly before these self-help programs expire.

Our commitment to these displaced people must not end now before the job of assimilating these refugees is complete. The administration has proposed extending the medical and cash assistance programs for refugees not eligible for AFDC and Medicaid and providing for temporary additional assistance to refugees who arrive after August 31, 1977. Senators KENNEDY, HUMPHREY, and I have introduced a separate bill which would extend the integrated benefit program for 3 years. Without job counseling and employment training as well as medical and cash assistance we would be shortsighted in our aid to these Indochinese and would be creating a perpetuating welfare dependence. Our proposal realistically provides for a phaseout of assistance on a graduated basis over 3 years to allow State agencies to phase in their increased involvement.

We must act quickly and we must authorize an integrated program.

In order that my colleagues might have the benefit of Stanley Breen's statement to the Senate Human Resources Committee, I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COALITION FOR THE EFFECTIVE RESETTLEMENT OF INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

(By Stanley B. Breen)

As Chairman of the Coalition for the Effective Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees, I would like to express to the members of the Senate Human Resources Committee the Coalition's view on legislation extending the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act. The Coalition for the Effective Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees consists of more than 130 representatives of state, local and voluntary organizations throughout the United States. It represents all the major voluntary agencies responsible for resettlement, the 28 states in which 90 percent of the Indochinese reside, as well as county and private agencies who are closely involved in resettlement activities.

Over the last several months, members of the Coalition have worked closely with representatives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the State Department, the White House, and members of Congress to insure effective implementation of policies and legislation affecting the Indochinese refugees. We are, therefore, pleased that the Administration has recently requested legislation which would extend funding for certain portions of the Indochina Refugee Assistance Program (IRAP). This displays much needed attention to a problem which will not go away if we were to simply ignore it.

However, we have some very strong reservations about the content of the Administration bill. In its present form, the Administration proposal represents both bad policy—in that it perpetuates the welfare syndrome—and unequal administration—since only a minority of states could participate in the program.

The current refugee assistance program provides a comprehensive set of services, including social services, bilingual mental

health counseling, employment and training programs, cash assistance, and medical assistance, which are designed to provide economic support to the refugees while they help the refugees acquire the tools for self-sufficiency.

The essential features which can aid the Indochinese in obtaining and upgrading employment, such as supportive social services, counseling, and training projects, would be eliminated under the Administration proposal. The Administration's bill provides only for cash and medical assistance for those refugees not eligible for AFDC and Medicaid, with temporary additional assistance to Indochinese refugees who arrived after August 31, 1977. Only a portion of these limited cash and medical services would be federally funded: 75 percent in FY 1978; 50 percent in FY 1979; and 25 percent in FY 1980. Because no supportive services or employment and mental health projects would be funded, the Administration proposal breeds dependency by handing out a welfare check without providing an incentive and a mechanism for breaking the welfare cycle.

Unfortunately, the ongoing programs designed to reduce dependency among the general population cannot adequately provide the needed services. The Work Incentive program, which provides jobs and training to AFDC recipients, is not available to those receiving Indochina Refugee Assistance. The CETA program is of little use in the resettlement effort, since the Indochinese were not an identified service group when most prime sponsors were establishing their priorities in using limited funds. Nearly all Title XX service agencies are currently spending all of the available funds and therefore cannot provide comprehensive services to refugees without reducing vital services elsewhere (even if they had the bilingual capacity to deal with this group). English language instruction provided in Adult Education programs will aid in the long-range assimilation of the refugee population but cannot have the immediate impact upon employment which comprehensive placement and training programs can have.

Programs which have proven themselves to be effective would be abandoned under the Administration proposal just at the time when they are beginning to produce substantial results. In 1976 HEW realized that existing resources were not adequate to reduce the high rate of welfare dependency among the Indochinese. Employment and training and mental health projects were therefore funded to meet the special needs of the refugees. Most of these began functioning in January of 1977 when the unemployment rate among the Indochinese was 13 percent. Six months later, a survey revealed an Indochinese unemployment rate of only 7.9 percent. While not all of the improvement can be attributed to the success of the special projects, it is clear that the concentrated efforts of the state and local governments and the voluntary agencies is having a substantial impact. The experience and resources of these projects will be lost without the supportive services and project funds necessary to maintain the programs to their successful completion.

The bill which the Sub-committee is currently considering is further hampered by administrative problems. The greatest of these is that most states do not have state statewide general assistance programs which meet the needs of unemployed refugees who are not eligible for AFDC. The Administration bill calls for a partial reimbursement for costs incurred. However, only 17 states have statewide general assistance programs which would authorize them to expend funds for this purpose. Some of these programs provide benefit levels as low as \$30 per month. Since the reduction in federal funds would begin immediately, the states would have no opportunity to pass legislation to pro-

vide mal be exclu taxpayer the full funds for were abl services by an ir gration efforts a few hea would b duction proach o Stark m

erable flexibility in their efforts to aid refugees within reasonable fiscal limits.

The reduction in services contained in the Administration bill would create substantial problems for affected refugees, voluntary agencies, and state and local governments. And while it would appear to reduce federal spending for this project, it would substantially increase the real burden upon the taxpayers who would have to fund long-term support for those who remain economically dependent.

The Coalition, therefore, recommends that several essential features, similar to those contained in bills introduced by Congressman Stark and Senators Humphrey and Kennedy, be incorporated into the Administration bill. These minimum requirements would include:

Continued funding for social services and special employment and mental health projects;

Uniformity of treatment among the states. This would be accomplished by providing 100 percent funding for current programs during the first year so that states would have time to seek supplemental funds through their legislatures, and by allowing the states flexibility in their efforts to cope with reduced federal funds during the phase-out period;

A planned phase-out of funding so that federal planned participation will be terminated at the end of three years.

These features would create the framework for a phase-out of special services so that neither the refugees nor the state and local taxpayers are unfairly burdened. It also provides a clear termination date so that the program is not continued indefinitely.

As I indicated at the beginning of this presentation, the Coalition has been seeking continued help for the Indochinese refugees for many months. However, the deficiencies in the current Administration proposal are so great that most of the Coalition members would actually oppose passage of the bill in its present form. This bill does not represent a reasonable compromise between those who would like to continue full federal funding indefinitely and those who seek to reduce federal spending. It is a palliative which does not meet any of the real needs of the Indochinese or the American taxpayers.

THE CASE FOR U.S. INTELLIGENCE FORCES

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, recently a very important speech was given by Mr. Gordon B. McLendon of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

This speech reveals in plain words the practical reasons why the Nation needs an intelligence service.

It pinpoints several vivid examples of American intelligence successes which have played important roles in preserving American liberties.

It demonstrates the reasons why the public media must show responsibility to the common good by voluntarily re-

September 20, 1977

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

S 15223

Biko, an influential black leader in South Africa, brings home to us once again the terrible price in humanity exacted by the abhorrent practice of apartheid.

Biko's death in police detention saddens all of us who seek for South Africa a more democratic society freed from its shackles of racism. It is a tragedy that South Africa continues its policy of human separation and alienation which denies it the benefits of its full human potential and does great injustice to the black population of the country.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY MARKS 30 YEARS OF SERVICE—GORDON MCLENDON ASSESSES ITS PERFORMANCE

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, history is not always written in the daily headlines or newscasts or commentaries. It is the result of reasoned analysis over many years. In the next century, history scholars may puzzle over some minor footnotes of our recent past. They may, for example, wonder how a hardening cold war slowly thawed in the 1970's. And what events transpired that averted major military confrontations?

In the daily chronicling of these events, I feel it is remiss for us to ignore the 30th anniversary of the Central Intelligence Agency. Certainly many men and women who have engaged in intelligence operations over the past three decades have performed with dedication and high honor. Recent happenings which have resulted in broad public disapproval cannot and should not obscure their service to our Nation. To maintain a balanced view, it is necessary that we recount known CIA activities in the perspective of the present world situation.

An excellent analysis of U.S. intelligence effectiveness is found in a recent speech by Gordon B. McLendon, a knowledgeable broadcasting executive and commentator of Dallas, Tex. He says that the United States "has the best intelligence in the world," and in his address before the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, he provides documentation for his claim.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. McLendon's remarks be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. INTELLIGENCE—AMERICA'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

(By Gordon McLendon)

Before I conclude this speech, thirty minutes from now, a missile could be launched from the Soviet Union, strike into this city and blow us all to kingdom come. I begin this way not because I believe such is going to happen—heaven forbid—but to point out to you that what we are going to discuss here is not in any sense some idle theory.

Take a look at your watch—it should say—P.M.—twenty-nine minutes from now, your life and that of your family could be over.

If you believe me, we can get on with this speech.

To quote that gifted pseudonym, Adam Smith, "we are all at a wonderful party, and by the rules of the game we know that at some point in time the Black Horsemen will burst through the great terrace doors to cut

down the revelers; those who leave early may be saved, but the music and wines are so seductive that we do not want to leave, but we do ask, 'What time is it? What time is it?' Only none of the clocks have any hands."

It is my hope to talk to those of you who are not frozen at the party and then sliced apart by the Black Horsemen of greed at the end. I am sure I speak to most of you.

While it is not this speaker's purpose to argue the case for or against increased military spending, it is my function today to make the strongest case for the importance of U.S. intelligence forces. In order to do that, there are certain basic facts concerning our defense forces that must be known:

Vast numbers of Americans today cynically close their ears to all comparisons of U.S. vs. Russian military strength on the ground that both sides possess enormous overkill. Enough, they argue, becomes much, and much has long since become far too much. Mutual destruction can be accomplished but once, they argue, and both sides have long had that potential.

However understandable, such a point of view has blind spots. In the first place, massive new Soviet nuclear rockets (ICBM's), such as the SS-9, can easily destroy U.S. missiles in their silos—because present U.S. policy is to fire only after an enemy attack.

Furthermore, the Russians do not regard a nuclear war as either impossible, unthinkable or unsurvivable. They do not believe that the United States can destroy the Soviet Union either by first strike or retaliation. Over the last twenty years, the Russians have devoted great effort to enormous civil defense projects. They believe that their present civil defense capability may well keep Soviet losses in any nuclear war below 20 million people—fewer than Russian losses in World War II. They believe that the bulk of Russia's industry could also survive. But the Russians believe that the United States, which has no nuclear civil defense program, may lose as many as 100 million people and by far the greater part of our industry. Dr. Eugene Wigner, America's Nobel Prize-winning nuclear physicist from Princeton, confirms the Russian view. "The total explosive power in Russian missiles," says Dr. Wigner, "is now about 6 times greater than the explosive power in our missiles. The maximum damage that we could inflict on them would be less than 4% of the Russian population; they could destroy or threaten to destroy 46% of our population."

If the Russians are indeed thinking this way, U.S. nuclear capability is not the deterrent to the Russians that most Americans believe.

Besides the Russian nuclear civil defense system, the Soviets count upon weapons to secure them against U.S. nuclear rocket attack. We refer to Russia's moving, and mobile, missile launchers. We cannot aim at these launchers on the ground because they are easily concealed from our satellites and can be rapidly moved. They are not restricted by the SALT I agreement. Yet the United States has no mobile missile launchers. These moving Russian launchers, such as the SS-16 and the SS-20 can head off across a field, set up and fire in minutes at targets anywhere in the world.

The United States Navy is down to only 438 ships, compared to Russia's 1440 active combat ships, including the new carrier *Kiev*.

The decay in readiness of our fleet was dramatically demonstrated during the *Mayaguez* incident. The U.S. carrier *Hancock*, 31 years old, which has been operating without one of its four shafts, limped weakly out of Subic Bay toward the Gulf of Thailand, making only 23 knots—and never reached the *Mayaguez*. Our helicopter carrier *Okinawa* was on its way to the flash point but part of *Okinawa's* boiler plant was off the line. Struggling along at thirteen or fourteen

knots, it also never got there. The escort ship *Holt* was the first U.S. ship at the scene, but it had power-supply problems and so *Holt's* main battery was down the night before the engagement.

The former U.S. Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, said, "clearly, this nation cannot long tolerate the present readiness condition of the U.S. Navy."

In submarines, the Russians have a 3 to 1 advantage over the United States and are turning out a new sub every 5½ weeks. The newest Russian Delta class submarine has the new SSN-8 ballistic missile, with a range of over 4,000 nautical miles, capable of reaching any target in the United States from protected Russian waters. The United States won't have a comparable submarine missile until the first Trident submarine is ready in 1979.

In the air, the Soviets have the largest bomber force in the world—825 medium and heavy bombers—almost double the number of U.S. bombers. The United States may still enjoy a slight qualitative advantage in tactical air, but the Russians have now begun to deploy newer capable aircraft in great numbers—the Flogger, Foxbat, Fencer and Backfire. Ninety percent or more of these Soviet Backfire bombers are already in combat squadrons. The Soviet Backfire is far superior to any American bomber. It was the Backfire that we were building the B-1 to counter, and now we have cancelled the B-1. Soviet deep penetration capability in the air continues to grow rapidly.

The Soviets have 2600 fighter-interceptors. The United States has 315, a margin of over 8 to 1. In 1975, the United States Air Force produced only 181 aircraft of all sizes.

Perhaps the best summary of air comparison came at the end of 1976 when the authoritative "Jane's All the World's Aircraft" reported that Soviet airpower is outstripping the U.S. so swiftly that now the United States might have to use major nuclear weapons just to counter a conventional Communist air attack.

Russia outproduces the U.S. in all military hardware except helicopters. Russia's Warsaw Pact forces in Europe outnumber our NATO forces 3 to 1 in combat formations. The Soviets now have a force of over 12,000 surface-to-air missiles (SAMS ready and on launchers. The United States has dismantled all its strategic SAM defenses. Russia is now deploying its most advanced new intercontinental nuclear rocket, the SS-18 with a warhead of around 50 million tons of TNT—more than 2500 times as large as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Russia has a 3-to-5 to 1 advantage in missile explosive power.

As late as the early 1960's, the Russian navy was simply a small coastal defense force. Now, it is a formidable blue-water navy whose total active combat ships, large and small, outnumber the U.S. six to one!

Soviet fleets now roam the Indian Ocean, have begun to edge out the United States in the seas off Japan, and in the Mediterranean they now challenge the U.S. sixth fleet. The Supreme NATO Commander Atlantic, Admiral Kidd, said recently of the Mediterranean, "What used to be an Atlantic lake in the minds of the Alliance and the United States is now... an Atlantic moat, filled with predatory steel sharks, concealed and constructed in the Soviet Union."

On the ground, the Russians have nearly 4.5 million men under arms, well more than twice the U.S. military force. Russian combat ground forces outnumber us 3½ to 1. The Soviets—and no one who has just come from Russia, Siberia and Outer Mongolia, as I have, can miss this—devote at least 20% of their national product to defense. The United States devotes 5 percent. But, the most distressing fact of all is this: of the total U.S. defense budget, costs at the Penta-

CIA OPERATIONS CENTER

NEWS SERVICE

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DISTRIBUTION II

UP-010

(U.S. SHIP)
(BY JAMES HEALION)

BRIDGEPORT, CONN. (UPI) - NEWLY REVEALED CIA DOCUMENTS SAY ISRAELI SAY DEFENSE MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN ORDERED THE 1967 ATTACK ON THE USS LIBERTY IN WHICH 34 AMERICANS DIED BECAUSE THE SHIP WAS JAMMING ISRAELI COMMUNICATIONS.

THE DOCUMENTS, WHICH THE AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE SAID IT OBTAINED THROUGH THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT, CONTRADICT ISRAELI DECLARATIONS THAT THE INCIDENT DURING THE SIX-DAY WAR WAS A MISTAKE.

NATIONAL APC CHAIRMAN NORMAN DACEY OF BRIDGEPORT SAID HE CHOSE TO PUBLISH THEM SUNDAY TO COINCIDE WITH DAYAN'S SCHEDULED VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK. HE SUGGESTED DAYAN BE TRIED IN THE UNITED STATES AS A "WAR CRIMINAL."

THE CIA SAID THE DOCUMENTS WERE "UNEVALUATED FOR ACCURACY." SIMILAR REPORTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE PAST, BUT NONE WAS EVER CONFIRMED.

(A CIA SPOKESMAN IN WASHINGTON SAID TODAY THAT THE AGENCY ALSO HAS A STAFF REPORT ON THE INCIDENT WHICH SUMMARIZES ALL THE EVIDENCE AND CONCLUDES THAT THE ISRAELIS WERE NOT AWARE THE LIBERTY WAS AMERICAN UNTIL AFTER IT WAS ATTACKED.)

ISRAEL CLAIMED THE DAYLIGHT ATTACK ON THE U.S. COMMUNICATIONS SHIP JUNE 8, 1967, WAS A TRAGIC MISTAKE THAT OCCURRED WHEN ITS WARPLANES AND TORPEDO BOATS CONFUSED THE LIBERTY WITH AN EGYPTIAN VESSEL NEAR ISRAEL'S 12-MILE LIMIT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

THE INCIDENT CAME THREE DAYS AFTER ISRAEL'S JUNE 5 LIGHTNING STRIKE ACROSS THE SINAI PENINSULA CAUGHT THE ARABS BY SURPRISE. A U.N. CEASE FIRE STOPPED HOSTILITIES JUNE 10.

UPI 09-19 08:45 RED

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE C-1

THE WASHINGTON POST
17 September 1977

Is It True That Spies Never Have A Nice Day?

By Jean M. White

There, on television, for millions to watch and perhaps believe, was the director of the CIA blackmailing the President of the United States in a behind-closed-doors Washington scene.

It's almost enough to make any former intelligence officer suspicious of a conspiracy to discredit American agents by turning them into anti-heroes, or even villains.

At least it seemed there might be a conspiracy theory from the tenor of questions during a panel discussion on "Espionage in Fiction" at the convention of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers. The two-day meeting ended yesterday at the Marriott Twin Bridges Motel.

There were charges about a "steady, six-day diatribe" against the CIA, as one member called it, during the TV series, "Washington: Behind Closed Doors," and the "beating" that spies take in "espionage fiction, and the "character assassination" in romans a clef.

"It leaves intelligence officers absolutely helpless . . . to answer," complained Douglas S. Blaufarb, the in-house reviewer of spy fiction for the association's quarterly publication, Periscope, where he does try to answer in kind.

Maybe professional spies shouldn't fret too much about their fictional image—and certainly they shouldn't be surprised if they are misunderstood, observed Charles McCarry, a panelist with experience both as a former CIA agent and a writer of serious espionage fiction.

"One loves the CIA when in it and still does," said McCarry. "There is the problem that the policy has been not to discuss operations and explain the nature of the work . . . It's like a marriage in which the husband doesn't speak to his wife after the ceremony. Then, after 30 years, he complains that she doesn't understand

But it was obvious that some of the former intelligence officers, who have gone public with a trade association of their own, don't like what they read about spies particularly in what Blaufarb called the "spy novel as trash."

Before they got too paranoid about their fictional treatment, Rod MacLeish, another panelist, reminded them that "as human beings, we all have suffered from trash written about human beings."

MacLeish, who identified himself as an ex-cowboy (he also is a television commentator and has written one spy thriller with another on the way), told the audience they shouldn't be too upset if they don't like the way spies are treated in fiction.

"The cowboy used to wear a white hat and kiss only his horse and now he's a nose-picking alcoholic. But he still is needed to herd the cattle," MacLeish said.

One problem for the writer of serious espionage fiction, McCarry said, is that the business of spying is so inaccessible that it is "almost impossible to get the texture, taste, feel, smell, the anxiety . . . sitting around waiting in a hotel room at 10 after 3 o'clock for a call from people who don't know how to use a phone."

MacLeish told how he had trouble even finding out the color of the walls at the CIA headquarters in Langley. It took intervention from a senior officer to get a tour so that he could write about the offices and memo-routing in his new spy thriller, MacLeish said.

As for the popularity of spy fiction in recent years, McCarry said he didn't know what people seek or find in espionage fiction now any more than he knows what they seek and find in the plays of Shakespeare. But he does find in the serious attempts an "explication of the political subconscious of our nation" at a time when many people think truths are being hidden from them.

10 Sept 1977

David Phillips
Mr. Jack Coakley
Executive Director, President
Association of Former
Intelligence Officers
Suite 303A
6723 Whittier Avenue
McLean, Virginia 22101

Dear Mr. Coakley:

I regret I could not be with you today, but as you know I am out of the country.

I do, however, extend my warm personal regards to each of you, and report to this body of professional intelligence officers that, despite recent news reports about past activities, the Intelligence Community is healthy and well. We in the Community are putting the past behind us and are confidently looking to the future.

In this regard, you are aware I am sure that President Carter has, in his Presidential Directive of 4 August, centralized new authority under the Director of Central Intelligence in a way that enables me to more effectively and efficiently coordinate the Government's intelligence business. Most importantly, it enables me to do this in a way that does not inhibit constructive competition in the interpretation of raw data. I am most pleased and enthusiastic about the President's decision.

I am also enthusiastic about the benefits I believe are accruing from our new openness policy. I believe we are gaining greater public acceptance of the need for intelligence, and also gaining greater credibility and understanding. Moreover, being open where legitimately possible substantially enhances my ability to protect those secrets that are vital to our work. I assure you that the protection of intelligence sources and methods remains one of my highest priorities.

-2-

Finally, let me wish you well in all your endeavors. I heartily support the work you are doing as individuals and as an organization. I value your advice and counsel and greatly appreciate your continuing support.

Yours sincerely,

JS/

STANSFIELD TURNER

A/DCI/PAO/HEH/kgf/9 September 1977

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~~Orig~~ Association of
~~Former~~ Intelligence
Officers (AFIO)

29 August 1977

Mr. Jack Coakley
Association of Former
Intelligence Officers
Suite 303A
6723 Whittier Avenue
McLean, Virginia 22101

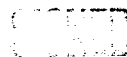
Dear Mr. Coakley:

I regularly read the AFIO PERISCOPE with great interest. I congratulate you on a very interesting and attractive publication.

I am enclosing a copy of a speech which Admiral Turner delivered on 12 August at the annual aerospace meeting of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. I thought the speech, or portions of it, might be of interest to your readers.

I will continue to send information such as the Admiral's speech. Please let me know if I can ever help in any way.

Sincerely,



Herbert E. Hetu
Assistant for Public Affairs
to the Director of Central Intelligence

Enc.

A/DCI/PAO/HEH/kgf/29 August 1977

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25 AUG 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Assistant to the DCI for Public Affairs
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence
SUBJECT: Association of Retired Intelligence Officers

Attached is a publication from the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers which I happened to receive. They invited me to speak at their convention this September but I declined. I wonder if it might be a good idea to send them a copy of the Los Angeles speech to see if they might be interested in reproducing it, or parts of it, as an indication of where the intelligence community is going today.

[Redacted Signature]

STANSFIELD TURNER

Attachment

STAT



PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. III NO. 2, SUMMER, 1977

NATIONAL CHAPTER SPONSORS INTELLIGENCE SYMPOSIUM

An open forum on intelligence matters, attended by the press, graduate students and other guests, followed the 6 April Spring Luncheon for Washington area AFIO members. Board Chairman Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., presided at the symposium, which explored several key issues of United States intelligence operations. Col. David H. Hunter, USA (Ret.) presented a preliminary report on his recently-conducted survey (see page 4), and the AFIO members attending approved a resolution deploring the announcement by the Department of Justice which advised Philip Agee, renegade ex-CIA officer, that he need not fear prosecution should he return to the United States (see box below).

The open forum, at the Marriott Twin Bridges Motel near the Pentagon, was moderated by Burton M. Sapin, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and Dean, School of Public and International Affairs at George Washington University. "The Case of Philip Agee and Protection of Legitimate Government Secrets" was the topic for a panel composed of William E. Colby, former DCI; John S. Warner, AFIO Legal Advisor; and Dave Phillips. A second panel discussed a number of intelligence issues, with significant audience participation in the form of statements and queries from AFIO members. The panelists were: John Maury, former CIA Legislative Counsel and, most recently, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; Col. Hunter; and Louis Marengo, former member of the Office of National Estimates and National Information Officer for Latin America.

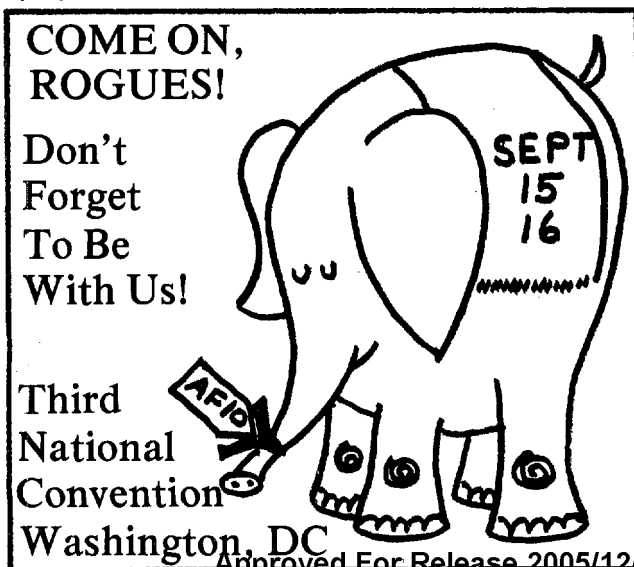
Chairman Kirkpatrick announced that AFIO will in the future adopt official positions on key intelligence issues, and the discussions during the symposium were intended to assist the Board of

Governors in their deliberations. The official statement on Philip Agee was the first formal one of its kind released to the press by AFIO.

The AFIO Board of Governors held its semi-annual meeting on the evening of 5 April, preceding the luncheon and open forum. Treasurer Louis Napoli advised the Board of the results of the most recent audit of AFIO financial matters, conducted by an outside Certified Public Accountant, and the Board considered a number of other matters. Chairman Kirkpatrick announced that the next meeting of the Board will be in September, at the time of the annual convention.

STATEMENT BY ASSOCIATION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

"We, the Board of Governors, and members of AFIO deplore the recent decision by the Department of Justice to decline any criminal prosecution of Philip Agee because of his authorship and publication of a book dealing with CIA operational activity. The Department of Justice did not deny that there were possible violations of law, but rather concluded that there were no grounds for prosecution. As professional intelligence officers we wish to voice our view that the disclosures of classified intelligence information seriously damaged the interests of the United States and the intelligence activities of CIA. Operations were closed down, people were moved and literally millions of dollars were spent to ameliorate the damage done by Agee's book. If we accept the decision of the Department of Justice, then clearly our laws are inadequate. The Congress should consider this situation most carefully — if we can pass laws to protect cotton statistics, census data and income tax information, surely we can protect intelligence sources and methods with criminal sanctions."



Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4
CONGRESSMAN RUDD SPEAKS OUT ON THE KEARNEY INDICTMENT

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF HON. ELDON RUDD, R-ARIZONA, AN EX-FBI AGENT, AT A NEWS MEDIA LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE ARMY-NAVY CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C., WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1977.

A former FBI special agent — John Kearney — has been indicted for his operation of a mail cover and warrantless wiretaps to gather needed intelligence for the capture of wanted terrorists in the early 1970s.

Attorney General Griffin Bell has stated that the decision for further indictments will rest with him. He states in the current issue of *U.S. News and World Report* that he has a report which would involve more than one person — and that he must go by the law and his conscience. On both counts, let us look at the record. What has led us to this odd spectacle of the nation's chief law enforcement officer seeking indictments against middle-echelon FBI lawmen for carrying out specific instructions of former attorneys general and other Justice Department superiors?

Throughout the turbulent 1960s, the nation was confronted with repeated criminal assaults on the public peace and safety — by individuals and groups whose purpose was to consciously break the law for political purpose. It started out as "civil disobedience," with so-called sit-ins and marches. During the Vietnam era, it soon became violent politically-inspired terrorism by groups like Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Youth International Party (YIPPIES), and the Weathermen Underground Organization.

Special Agent John Kearney and others in the FBI had been assigned to gather intelligence on the Weathermen Underground, which had claimed credit for the following acts of terrorism:

- The Nov. 18, 1969, sniper attack by 23 members on a Cambridge, Mass., police station.
- The July 28, 1970, bombing of a Bank of America building in New York City.
- The Oct. 8, 1970, bombing of a National Guard armory in a California county courthouse.
- The May 19, 1972, bombing of a top security area of the Pentagon.
- The May 31, 1974, bombing of California Attorney General Evelle Younger's Los Angeles office.
- The March 6, 1970, dynamite explosion that destroyed the Wilkerson townhouse in New York's Greenwich Village.

It is ironic that this last explosion killed three members of the Weathermen Underground who were in the townhouse making bombs for use around the country.

Apart from the violent terrorist activities of the Weathermen Underground, which alone justified FBI

involvement to bring these criminals to justice, it is known with certainty that top Weathermen Underground officials had met with foreign Communist leaders in Cuba to plan riots, murders, and bombings in the United States. In July, 1969, these U.S. terrorists met with two top North Vietnamese Communist agents in Cuba, who directed the Weathermen on street warfare in the United States.

In keeping with the new emphasis on individual rights during the 1960s, J. Edgar Hoover ordered sharp restrictions against many FBI intelligence operations in 1966 and early 1967. These restrictions included severe limitations on electronic surveillance, infiltration of subversive groups, and a ban on all further "black bag" jobs — illegal entry and burglary to collect intelligence. Attorney General Bell cited these 1966 directives from Mr. Hoover to refute the claim that FBI special agents are now being prosecuted for acts that they thought were in the line of duty. But Mr. Bell has failed to tell the media and the public the full story — including facts concerning a September, 1967, Justice Department directive from then Attorney General Ramsey Clark that would appear to directly countermand and rescind the Hoover cutbacks on FBI intelligence operations. . .

The Clark directive to all agencies and offices within the Justice Department involved in collection and use of criminal intelligence stated:

"It is imperative that the Department seek to obtain the most comprehensive intelligence possible regarding organization or other purposeful stimulation of domestic dissension, civil disorders, and riots. To carry out these responsibilities, we must make full use of and constantly endeavor to increase and refine the intelligence available to us, both from internal and external sources, concerning organizations and individuals throughout the country who may play a role in either instigating or spreading disorder or in preventing or checking them."

There was never any question that the Weathermen Underground was a subversive organization whose members had continuously violated at least seven provisions of federal law prohibiting the manufacture, use, transportation, and possession of firearms and explosives to create civil disorder. . . teaching and demonstrating the use of explosives for such purposes . . . sabotage. . . conspiracy. . . and seditious conspiracy.

But let us assume for argument's sake that FBI agents **did** commit illegal acts by opening mail and conducting wiretaps. Should the Justice Department prosecute FBI officials for such actions now? The Justice Department has itself set the standard for this decision — by deciding **against** prosecution of CIA officials who conducted mail cover activities in the United States to gather intelligence from foreign nations. . .

. . . Why, then, has Attorney General Bell taken this completely inconsistent action to persecute Special Agent Kearney — and possibly other dedicated officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation? I cannot judge his motives. The Attorney General has not given me the

**FBI LEGAL DEFENSE
FUND ESTABLISHED**

The Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI has set up a legal defense fund to retain attorneys for former Special Agent John Kearney and others who may be indicted by the Department of Justice. Contributions can be mailed to:

SPECIAL AGENTS'

Legal Defense Fund

Security National Bank

2000 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20036

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courtesy of a reply to my April 19th letter to him on this matter, which asked him to reconsider the Justice Department action. The Attorney General has stated that his action is based upon the law and his own conscience. The law in all likelihood countenances the intelligence gathering activities involving the Weathermen Underground and other subversive groups that FBI investigators have been involved in. If there have been some breaches of law in this regard, the law certainly provides the Attorney General with the latitude and discretion not to prosecute those actions — as was decided in the CIA case.

That leaves us with the Attorney General's conscience.

Is Mr. Bell going to preside over the destruction of the morale of our vital law enforcement effort and the dismembering of our intelligence activities?

The Attorney General should immediately propose solid guidelines based upon years of good law enforcement experience in this area to continue legitimate, carefully administered intelligence activities by the FBI, so that his actions to date will not become a blank check for increased criminal activity.

Congress must work to see that the arbitrary action taken by this administration to date does not destroy several generations of experience and improved law enforcement procedures in the gathering and use of needed crime intelligence to fight crime and preserve our free society.



PROFESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE ATTITUDES
(Regarding Public Expectations Concerning Intelligence Activities)
A Report by David H. Hunter, University of Georgia

Membership response to the questionnaire included with the Winter 1977 **Periscope** has been extraordinary. Responses representing 18% of AFIO members have been received. This percentage permits very reliable inferences about aggregate membership attitudes. By extrapolation, AFIO attitudes may indicate corporate professional intelligence attitudes.

Space limitations prevent thanking by name the approximate one-fourth of all respondents who included commentary useful to interpretation of the numeric responses — summary analysis of which is provided in the enclosure to this issue of the **Periscope**.

The need to provide an interim report for the 6 April symposium precluded a "dry run" to reduce questionnaire deficiencies. Nevertheless, responses indicate only minimal communications confusion.

Three generalities about major AFIO attitudinal trends are revealed by survey responses — particularly by the commentary:

1. We have a professional dilemma. We believe in the Greco-Judeo-Christian precepts of morality and in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of "fair play," but are required to defend the US Constitution against all enemies foreign and domestic, who by and large, do not share this persuasion. The nature of intelligence activity requires judgment — rote adherence to inflexible rules may result in national disaster. How do we remain true to our own morality and legality in a contest with others not so constrained?

2. We recognize that Congressional representative and legislative responsibilities require both substantive intelligence and knowledge of intelligence activities. But, we fear that some Congressional members and staff are insensitive to the security requirements of intelligence agencies which serve the Congress, as well as the President and executive departments, in defense of the nation.

3. We resent, deplore and wish to stop self-serving violations of contract and collegial trust by those few former members of our profession who endanger the national interest and our colleagues' lives by irresponsible publicizing of classified information.

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AFIO REPRESENTATIVES URGE SENATE TO MAINTAIN BUDGET SECRECY

The Senate Intelligence Committee held two days of open hearings in late April to consider testimony from adherents on both sides of the question of disclosure of a total intelligence budget figures. On 27 April, Director of Central Intelligence Admiral Stansfield Turner told the Senators, convened in the capitol building in Washington, that he had no objection to the revelation of an aggregate figure, making it clear that his former classmate at the Naval Academy, President Carter, had directed him to take this position.

Two former Directors of Central Intelligence, however, did not agree, predicting that revelation of the total budget figure would only lead to demands for a breakdown of details and figures. Richard Helms and William Colby argued that the present system of keeping budget costs hidden in other department's appropriations be continued.

In the second day of hearings, on '8 April, the Committee heard from constitutional lawyers and pro-and-con witnesses. A seven-person panel, which included AFIO president Dave Phillips and John S. Warner, was split on the issue. Ray Cline found no problems with disclosure of a single, total figure if no further breakdowns or line-item details followed. LTG Daniel O. Graham, former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, spoke out strongly against any disclosure, as did Phillips and Warner on behalf of the Association.

Former White House aide and National Security

Council staffer Morton Halperin endorsed the proposal of disclosure, not only for the overall budget, but recommended the figure for each of the intelligence agencies be made public, a position backed by the representative of The American Civil Liberties Union, and a Washington attorney. There was laughter in the crowded hearing room when Halperin, referring to the previous day's testimony from DCI Turner, said, "...as you heard yesterday from Admiral Carter."

After more than three weeks of deliberations, the Senate Committee voted 9 to 8 on 24 May to recommend that the budget figures be made public. Such a recommendation, however, must be the subject of a full vote in the Senate, which has in the past voted against disclosure. Experienced observers believe that the full Senate vote will be a very close one.

INTELLIGENCE BOOKSHELFCurrent books of interest to intelligence buffs

PORTRAIT OF A COLD WARRIOR, SECOND THOUGHTS OF A TOP CIA AGENT — G.P. Putnam Sons, New York, 1976. 436 pp. \$10.95.

Career Autobiographies of CIA professionals are now in spate — a new genre in the publishing business with an appeal somewhere between Gothic novels and "how to" books on fly-tying. Ray Cline and David Phillips have told about their careers as, respectively, a successful analyst and high-level manager of the analytic and estimating side (Cline) and a case officer who made his way up the slippery ladder from junior case officer to division chief (Phillips). Now Joseph B. Smith has come along to fill the obvious gap left by these two predecessors — the story of a case officer who labored in the vineyards for twenty odd years without accomplishing very much or getting very far — in effect, the so-so case officer. He calls his book *Portrait of a Cold Warrior. Second Thoughts of a Top CIA Agent*.

Joseph B. Smith writes clearly and tells a good anecdote. This appears to explain why he was able to persuade a reputable publishing house to bring out his career history in book form when, in fact, it was not an extraordinary career and by no means supports the sub-title's claim of "top CIA agent." What, in addition, Joseph B. Smith had to offer was a rather complete lack of scruple. Gifted, it would appear, with well nigh total recall, he takes us — step by plodding step — through every stage of his career. He remembers and records the details of his recruitment, of his polygraph test, of his training and of all his assignments — including whether he traveled by plane or ship, how the accommodations struck him on his arrival, the convenience of his new office — and, of course, of all his operations and agents. He does not, in all cases, name the agents or always give the full names of his agency colleagues, but these are the only details he omits. Oh yes, he nowhere describes the secrecy commitments he signed.

What is his justification for this attack of logorrhea about matters which he swore "to keep forever secret?" He says his purpose is to let the public and most particularly his own family learn and understand about the complexities of the world of the Clandestine Services, the true inwardness of it all. From such understanding, presumably, would come more public support for a better intelligence service.

ALSO RECEIVED: **Modern Dictionary of Military Technology: English-Spanish, Spanish-English.** Lexicon Press, Fairfax, Virginia. \$13.95. Copies available from the author, AFIO member Rowland A. Wells.

One cannot help a touch of skepticism about the sincerity of this explanation. Any clandestine service will need agents and liaison relationships, no matter how thoroughly reorganized and reformed it may be at some point in the future. How reassuring is it for those who may be considering entering into a sensitive and even risky relationship with CIA to know that all may be spilled someday, and with complete impunity, by the man they are dealing with? This should be as clear to Joseph B. Smith as it would be to anyone else with his years and varieties of experience.

Other motives suggest themselves. He makes it eminently clear that he retired in 1973 with feelings of considerable bitterness over being passed over for promotion and having had his advice ignored in the post-Agee flap control program. An example of the quality of his analysis of his own career is suggested by these words: "Although I had gone to Harvard, it would have been better if I had gone to Princeton and been a member of the OSS. I was not a Catholic, nor an East European ethnic. I just did not fit into the ruling cliques in the Clandestine Services." It seemed to escape his notice that neither did quite a few of the bosses he mentions in his narrative — among them Fitzgerald and Bissell.

Smith claims that his disillusion stems from the continuation of a dominant cold war mentality in the Clandestine Services and from the prevalence of what he describes as arrogance and "career opportunism" throughout the system. Undoubtedly CIA was and continues to be flawed. Every one who has ever worked there has his gripes and unpleasant memories; but most of us also remember other things as well: genuine quiet heroism, effective brilliance, sound judgment and strong leadership. Joseph B. Smith doesn't see such things or think them worth entering in the balance sheet. For his reason, among others, his book leaves a bad taste.

Granted that much of what used to be considered too sensitive to be breathed in public is now chattered about freely, this book goes as far in its detailing of operational methods, of internal organizational routines and of details of specific operations as did Philip Agee, an avowed enemy of CIA with a clearly destructive intent. The agents and contacts it names may not lose their lives or freedom as a result but many of them are bound to be painfully embarrassed. The liaison services whose officers it identifies and whose operational activity it describes are also undoubtedly smarting. All of this can only harm the goal of an improved and tightened American intelligence service which the author claims to support. It is hard to resist the conclusion that *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* is largely a work of spite which fails to live up to its pretense of a high purpose.

Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4 DOUGLAS S. BLAUFARB

INTERPRETATION OF NUMERIC RESPONSES

The "DISTRIBUTION RESPONSE %" display indicates the percentage of respondents reacting with a +2 through -2 to each statement, as well as the percentage not responding (N/R). The "Mean" reflects the average of numeric scores. The closer the mean approximates "zero" the more probable the corporate neutrality of respondents, unless the near zero mean score results from a dichotomous distribution, in which case a conflict of attitudes, rather than neutrality, is indicated. Consequently, the "mode" (most frequent response(s)) as well as the "mean" must be examined to permit inferences concerning corporate respondent attitudes. Four principal inferences are probable:

- A strong AFIO consensus is indicated by a mean of + or - .60 together with a concentrated mode.
 - A weaker consensus is indicated by a lower mean score and a flatter distribution of responses.
 - A possibly significant dichotomy is indicated by a near zero mean combined with a bi-modal distribution and a low N/R percentage.
 - Corporate respondent apathy toward a statement is indicated by a near zero mean combined with a fairly large percentage of "zero" or "N/R" responses and an otherwise relatively flat distribution. Such statements rarely prompt much supplementary comment - thus the rationale for corporate apathy is not always apparent.
- The statistical summary indicates a respectable AFIO membership consensus on 23 of the 30 statements. In 15 of these 23 cases significant membership cohesiveness is indicated by a pattern of response as in "a." above. On ten of these fifteen cases membership consensus is very strong indicating wide support for particular corporate positions. These issues are:

- #7 Requiring individuals to report illegalities/improprieties.
 - #9 Opposing public revelation of intelligence budget.
 - #16 Retaining CIA as is, with no mission change.
 - #20 FBI having primary domestic intelligence role.
 - #21 Covert action to be exceptional foreign policy technique.
 - #22 Retaining clandestine collection and covert action together.
 - #24 Making unauthorized disclosure of classified information by intelligence employees a criminal offense.
 - #26 Reviewing classified info to maximize declassification.
 - #27 Employing deception measures despite risks of domestic misinformation.
 - #28 Reducing layers of finished intelligence review.
- On one issue the consensus was that of neutrality or apathy: #3 Replacing the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. The remaining seven issues on which definite consensus was lacking each require some explanatory discussion:
- #2 Regarding the establishment of a Joint Congressional Intelligence Committee provoked the clearest membership dichotomy. Examination of respondent commentary on this matter indicates that reduction of the number of Congressional committees having access is a dominant preference and that fear of "leaks" rather than objection in principle provoked much of the opposition reflected.
 - #5 & #6 Both concerning the Attorney General's role in intelligence. (#5 re: his inclusion in the NSC & #6 re: the requirement that he report apparent illegalities/improprieties.) Both statements prompted bare and weak pluralities in their favor and provoked some rather pointed commentary in opposition. Consequently the AFIO position on these statements is far from cohesive.
 - #8 The proposal to statutorily establish an independent intelligence IG resulted in a weak plurality against it, and a fairly large neutral response. Objection largely reflected confidence in existing arrangements.

#10 Proposes DCI program/budget review authority over all intelligence resources. There is a weak plurality in opposition based largely upon the "tactical" resources problem: What are they? How do they relate to the national (strategic) intelligence effort?

#14 A rather large proportion of neutral responses together with an otherwise flat response distribution curve resulted in only a weak consensus in favor of having organizationally separate DCI & CIA offices and roles.

#17 Restricting the CIA mission to clandestine collection and covert political action (i.e., elimination of CIA's production mission is implied by agreement with this statement.) It appears from the respondent commentary that #17 is insufficiently precisely expressed and consequently may have produced an ambiguous aggregate response. Further expressions of membership opinion on this matter would be welcomed. #17 is opposed by a rather weak consensus.

#29 Calls for full access to relevant intelligence operational information on the part of Ambassadors. This was supported by a weak consensus together with a fairly large neutral response. Opposition, as in the case of Congressional access proposals, was principally based upon lack of confidence in non-professional intelligence personnel, rather than on principle.

In general: Respondent commentary was characterized by emphasis upon the pragmatic considerations of real-life intelligence activities while concurrently exhibiting sensitivity toward the legal and moral aspects which make the US intelligence experience unique.

SUMMARY OF AFIO MEMBERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

- Age: Under 30 = 1%; 30-50 = 12%; Over 50 = 86% No Response (N/R) = 1%
- Experience: (Total exceeds 100% due to multiple experience reported)

| | | | |
|----------------|---|--------------------|----------------|
| OSS = 9.3% | NSC = 1% | CIA (only) = 27.1% | CIA(+) = 18.1% |
| DIA = 10.5% | NSA = 4.7% | State = 2.3% | FBI = 2.6% |
| Treasury = .3% | Mil. Dept. HQ = 23.2% | Mil. Svc. = 36.0% | |
| Other = 9.7% | Mil. Dept. & Mil. Svc. (i.e., exclusively military) = | | |
- Functional background: (Includes multiple experience as above)

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Production exclusively = 7.3% | Production (+) = 31% |
| Collection " = 25.7% | Collection (+) = 62% |
| Counterintelligence " = 11.1% | Counterintelligence (+) = 32% |
| Support exclusively = 10.8% | Support (+) = 26% |
- Cumulative intelligence service:

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 5 years or less = 9.7% | 5-10 years = 14.6% |
| 10-20 years = 23.6% | Over 20 years = 51% |
| N/R = 1% | |
- Current intelligence status:

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| Active = 2.4% | Inactive = 8% | Retired = 81.6% | N/R = 8% |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|

David H. Hunter
University of Georgia

AFIO OPINION SURVEY SUMMARY

RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION % (N= 258)

| # | Essentials of Statements | 27 | 26 | 15 | 20 | 11 | 1 | + | | |
|----|--|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|------|---|
| 1 | Replace National Security Act of 1947, provide new statutory charter for national intelligence activities. | 27 | 26 | 15 | 20 | 11 | 1 | + | .39 | Weak consensus favors new comprehensive law. Opposition argues flexibility of 1947 law. |
| 2 | Establish Joint Senate/House Committee for oversight of intelligence activities and covert action. | 20 | 27 | 5 | 16 | 30 | 1 | - | .08 | Significant respondent dichotomy. (See reverse of this page for discussion.) |
| 3 | Replace President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB) because it is inadequate for its purpose. | 17 | 18 | 32 | 20 | 11 | 2 | + | .10 | Respondent apathy. This is the only statement about which there was great indifference. |
| 4 | Provide statutory authority for National Security Council (NSC) policy guidance of intelligence action. | 26 | 44 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 1 | + | .67 | Solid consensus favors degree of NSC independence from Presidential domination. |
| 5 | By statute, make Attorney General advisor to NSC to insure intelligence action consistency with US law. | 16 | 32 | 13 | 22 | 17 | 1 | + | .08 | Bare plurality in favor. Almost a dichotomous split of responses. (See discussion on page reverse.) |
| 6 | By statute, require Attorney General to report to President & Congress intelligence activity illegalities. | 15 | 35 | 12 | 18 | 18 | 2 | + | .11 | Very similar to #5. (See reverse for discussion.) |
| 7 | Require members of intelligence agencies to report apparent illegalities/improprieties to C.O. or I.G. | 30 | 44 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 1 | + | .93 | Strong favorable consensus indicates professional preference for internal detection of goofs. |
| 8 | Statutorily establish an office of Inspector General for National Intel. as an independent organization. | 14 | 20 | 17 | 27 | 21 | 1 | - | .20 | Weak consensus in opposition. (See discussion over.) |
| 9 | Congress should, to some extent, make public intelligence portions of budget per Clause 7, Sec.9, Art.I of Const. | 7 | 14 | 11 | 26 | 42 | 0 | - | .34 | Strong consensus opposes. Extent of publicity is key question. What are relative costs? benefit? |
| 10 | Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) should have program/budget review authority over all intelligence resources. | 17 | 26 | 9 | 24 | 24 | 0 | - | .13 | Plurality opposes - close to dichotomy. (See discussion on reverse of page.) |
| 11 | DCI should have tenure limited to a maximum number of years specified by statute - but not a fixed term. | 23 | 31 | 21 | 13 | 11 | 1 | + | .41 | Weak consensus favors. Large neutral response and few minuses indicate non-salient issue. |
| 12 | DCI should be statutorily given exclusive responsibility for providing intelligence to President & Congress. | 36 | 28 | 5 | 16 | 13 | 2 | + | .58 | Consensus favors DCI insulation from user pressures together with facility for dissenting views. |
| 13 | In appointing DCI, President should give preferential consideration to non-intelligence professional. | 9 | 16 | 12 | 36 | 27 | 0 | - | .56 | Consensus opposes non-professional preference. Many advocate diametric opposite. |
| 14 | Offices and functions of DCI and Director CIA should be organizationally separated. | 21 | 24 | 18 | 20 | 16 | 1 | + | .13 | Weak consensus favors. (See page reverse for discussion) |
| 15 | CIA, rather than being "out of control" has been completely responsive to Presidential and NSC guidance. | 43 | 31 | 13 | 7 | 5 | 1 | + | 1.00 | Very strong consensus agrees. Probably reaction to allegations of CIA irresponsibility. |
| 16 | CIA, as presently constituted, should be disbanded; successor agency should not engage in collection or covert act. | 2 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 94 | 1 | - | 1.64 | Overwhelming consensus opposes. Essential respondent message: leave CIA & mission unchanged. |
| 17 | CIA mission should be restricted to clandestine collection and covert action (i.e., no production mission). | 20 | 24 | 4 | 17 | 33 | 2 | - | .19 | Weak consensus opposes. (See over for discussion.) More info needed re: response rationale |
| 18 | Prohibit CIA domestic collection of foreign intelligence from unwitting US citizens. | 9 | 17 | 5 | 35 | 33 | 1 | - | .65 | Solid consensus opposes. Seen as dangerous inhibition of legit collection activity. |
| 19 | Prohibit CIA domestic collection for counterintelligence except for CIA security in cooperation with FBI. | 22 | 41 | 9 | 13 | 14 | 1 | + | .43 | Consensus favors. Some agreeing as some disagreeing advocate maximizing CIA scope. |
| 20 | FBI should have primary responsibility for intelligence of threats to US internal security. | 39 | 40 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 1 | + | .96 | Very strong consensus favors. Some recommend MI-5 type counter-espionage agency establishment. |
| 21 | Covert action should be an exception to normal processes, consistent with public policy & approved at high level. | 43 | 37 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 1 | + | 1.05 | Very strong consensus favors. Indicates professional intel adverse reaction to CA excesses. |
| 22 | Covert action and intelligence activity should be organizationally separate; agency for covert action under NSC. | 10 | 9 | 10 | 22 | 48 | 1 | - | .38 | Strong consensus opposes. Rationale: clandestine collection & covert action belong together. |
| 23 | Congressional oversight committees should be informed of proposed covert actions. | 6 | 14 | 16 | 26 | 37 | 2 | - | .75 | Solid opposing consensus weakened by fair neutral response. Mistrust of Congressional security. |
| 24 | Unauthorized willful divulgence of classified info. by current or former intel. employee be criminal offense. | 34 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | + | 1.71 | Overwhelming consensus favors. Respondents really steamed over violations of trust & contract. |
| 25 | Unlawful classification of information to prevent legitimate disclosure should be subject to civil or criminal penalty. | 27 | 42 | 14 | 11 | 5 | 1 | + | .76 | Solid consensus favors. Many reservations re: feasibility but support for principle. |
| 26 | Classified material should be reviewed with aim of declassification to permit maximum proper public disclosure. | 34 | 44 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 1 | + | .89 | Strong consensus favors. Indicates professional intel and journalists compatible on this one |
| 27 | Deception measures are legitimate counterintelligence ruses despite possibility of deceiving US populace. | 44 | 40 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 2 | + | 1.15 | Very strong support for existing US policy. Caveats about danger of over-doing it. |
| 28 | Bureaucratic layers of review of finished intelligence should be minimized to protect analytical integrity. | 37 | 39 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 3 | + | 1.03 | Very strong consensus favors. Many advocate retaining dissent-footnote system on estimates. |
| 29 | PL 93-475, providing Ambassadors full access to info of intel operations in their areas. | 15 | 35 | 18 | 19 | 12 | 1 | + | .22 | Weak consensus favors. Fairly large neutral response. (See reverse of page.) |
| 30 | Insofar as intelligence agencies engage in experimentation with humans, jurisdiction of Com. for Protection - - - applies. | 26 | 25 | 26 | 13 | 3 | 2 | + | .43 | Consensus infavor weakened toward apathy by large neutral response. |

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Notes From National. . .

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY—

Publication costs have caused us to defer printing of a more comprehensive directory this year. We will print the annual Summer Directory soon for later distribution. The format will be the same as last year. Please make sure that any changes or corrections have been mailed to us.

NON-PROFIT MAILING—

After months of trying, we have finally been granted permission by the Postal Service to mail at special bulk rates. That will cut our bulk mailing costs by about two-thirds!

TAX EXEMPT STATUS—

At this writing we are still awaiting a decision from the Internal Revenue Service on our request for exempt status.

VIRGINIA INCORPORATION—

In April we changed the state of incorporation from Maryland to Virginia to coincide with our office location and reduce annual fees.

MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATES—

Thanks to the generosity of LTC Stan Phillips in Florida you will be receiving a framable Certificate of Membership this Summer. Stan had the idea and has funded the project himself.

MEMBERSHIP CARDS—

New membership cards will be issued for all members paid through May 1978. The cards will be designed as "one-time issue" for permanent retention by members in all categories.

NOMINATIONS FOR AFIO BOARD OF GOVERNORS—

Our By-laws stipulate that the terms of one-third (five) of our Board of Governors expire each year. Vacancies are to be filled at the convention in September by vote of the delegates in attendance. Any AFIO member may serve on the Board and, of course, any member may make nominations. If you wish to suggest a nominee please forward the name(s) to the office.

OF INTEREST TO MILITARY MEMBERS. . .

The National Military Intelligence Association will hold its annual convention on June 16th and 17th at the Officers Club in Fort Meade, Maryland. Info from CSM McCann at (301) 677-5204.

The alumni of the US Army Field Activities Command (Det "A", Det "O", USA Fld Spt Gp) will hold its annual reunion at the Ft. Myer Officers Club on 17 September 1977 to coincide with the AFIO convention. Contact: MAJ Al Wright, 3820 Ridge Rd., Annandale, VA 22003 (703) 256-0793.

All former members of USAF 4602nd, 7050th, and 6002nd Air Intelligence Service units are urged to join in the formation of an "Alumni" organization. Contact Col. Mike Bellovin at the 7602nd Air Intel Gp, Ft. Belvoir, VA 22060.

AFIO MAILING ADDRESS—

When corresponding with the AFIO office please be sure to include the street address — 6723 Whittier Ave. — to avoid delivery delays.

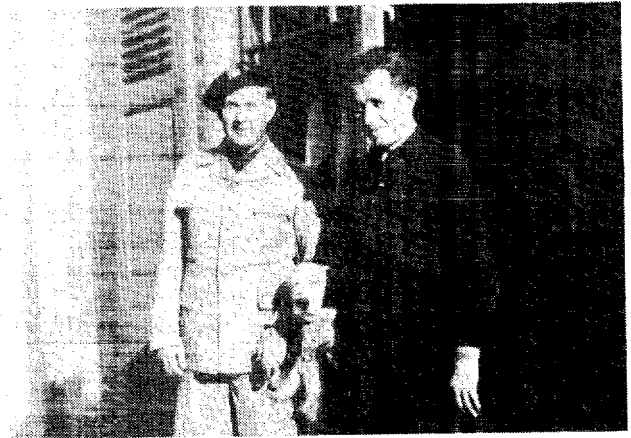
WASHINGTON AREA MONTHLY LUNCH—

AFIO members in the Washington area (and those visiting) are invited to an informal lunch on the last Tuesday of each month at Hogate's restaurant. Call 790-0320 for details. Spouses and guests are welcome.

— ANNUAL DUES REMINDER —

Our thanks to the several hundred members who sent in their dues payment early. That response is evidence of the continued support for AFIO objectives. Remember Annual Dues remain at \$10.00 and are now payable for the period 1 June 1977 - 31 May 1978. You are urged to send in your check so we can publish a new directory and revise our mailing list.

Remember When?



Do you remember the man in the beret? The photograph was taken in May, 1944, in enemy-occupied France — one month prior to the Normandy invasion. The fellow wearing the French uniform is Col. George R. Weinbrenner, (then Major, USA). George's friend was the local **Maquis** chief in Central France.

(Do you have a photograph which your AFIO colleagues will enjoy? If so please send along to PERISCOPE).

AFIO Life Member Honor Roll

In our last issue we recognized the first group of Life Members in AFIO. Since then, other generous members have contributed and the group again includes a husband and wife team — Dr. and Mrs. Elbert R. Moses Jr.

Joining them are the following:

| | |
|---|--|
| Mr. Gerald S. Arenberg North Miami, Florida | CWO Ann M. McDonough USA Ret. Plantsville, Connecticut |
| Mr. Rudolph J. Balaban Rockville, Maryland | Lt. Col. George H. McMichael USAF Ret. St. Petersburg, Florida |
| Ms. Evelyn N. Briscoe Falls Church, Virginia | William J. Morgan Ph.D. Vienna, Virginia |
| Mr. Hayden Channing Tucson, Arizona | Dr. Elbert R. Moses Jr. Clarion, Pennsylvania |
| Mr. Vincent A. Cillis Morris Plains, New Jersey | Mrs. E.R. (Mary S.) Moses Clarion, Pennsylvania |
| Mr. Stanley P. Darer Stamford, Connecticut | Mr. James E. O'Brien Palo Alto, California |
| Mr. S. James Dawson II San Carlos, California | LTC John E. Place USA Ret. Palo Alto, California |
| Mr. William Lapham Fort New York, New York | Mrs. Eva M. Popovich Arlington, Virginia |
| Mr. John B. Franz Astoria, L.I., New York | Mr. William R. Reed Bordentown, New Jersey |
| Mr. Douglas D. Guernsey Falls Church, Virginia | Mr. M.A. Ruebright Houston, Texas |
| Dr. Edward M. Gunn Hilton Head Island, So. Carolina | Mr. Alan Neil Schneider Coral Gables, Florida |
| Mrs. W.M. (Billie) Hennings Bryan's Road, Maryland | Mr. Miles P. Seeley Jackson Hole, Wyoming |
| Mrs. Frances Hoffmeier Arlington, Virginia | LTC R. Eston Smith AUS Ret. Seal Beach, California |
| COL David H. Hunter USA Ret. Athens, Georgia | Mr. Lazaro Rogelio Ugarte Hialeah, Florida |
| Lt. Col. Stuart R. Kalmus USAF Ret. Dallas, Texas | |
| Mr. Stanton C. Lewis Houston, Texas | |

AFIO CHAPTERS—

Interest in forming regional/local chapters of AFIO has grown as the association expands. Members tell us it is the best way to keep themselves informed and coordinate getting the AFIO message across in their own communities. Chapters have also provided a social setting for "people speaking the same language." We certainly don't want to "over-organize" AFIO but we do encourage frequent contact among the members since most are not able to attend a national convention. Elsewhere in this issue you will find names and addresses of AFIO members who have begun to coordinate with other members in their area. If you are interested in participating in an informal chapter or willing to help set one up on the state or local level, please contact us and we will assist you in locating your AFIO neighbors.

NEW ENGLAND—

Our very first official AFIO chapter is alive and well, thank you. Forty-four members and wives from six states travelled to Boston on May 14th for the semi-annual luncheon to listen to BG Bill Tidwell who flew up from Virginia and spoke of the performance of the intelligence community as it relates to the people and environment in which it operates, the contributions it has made in technological development, and the growing pains it finds in the society in which it serves. Among the chapter members present were three AFIO Board members, Chairman Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr., E. Barbara Storer and Helen Priest Deck. Other chapters may be interested in the Intelligence Bibliography compiled by the New Englanders. Copies can be obtained from: Mrs. Helen Priest Deck, 168 Woodbury Rd., Sudbury, MA 01770.

For those who couldn't make it to Boston, check in with your State Coordinator:

MAINE — Miss E. Barbara Storer
62 Leonard Rd.

Boxboro, MA 01719 (Barbara has "dual citizenship" in Maine and Mass.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE — Bruce C. Rounds
Box 5, Bristol, NH 03222

VERMONT — Dr. Frank H. Sargent
101 ½ E. State St.

Montpelier, VT 05602

RHODE ISLAND — Lambert C. Porter
10 Sea Lake Dr.

Narragansett, RI 02882

CONNECTICUT — Newton D. Holbrook III
P.O. Box 164

Litchfield, CT 06759

MASSACHUSETTS — Helen Priest Deck
168 Woodbury Rd.
Sudbury, MA 01770

NEW MEXICO —

Six of the eight AFIO members scattered across this sunny 50,000 square miles got together at the end of May to lay the ground work for an AFIO chapter. Others

out there in the shade of the cactus should contact: BG H.O. Paxson USA Ret., P.O. Box 447, Corrales, NM 87048.

FLORIDA —

We still need a State Coordinator but the first chapter in Florida is the Suncoast Chapter which established its "borders" as a 100 mile radius around St. Petersburg. The group has already decided to hold quarterly luncheons and the first will be held on July 27th at Bradford's Coach House in St. Petersburg.

It's interesting to note that the nucleus of the group comes as a result of an article by Bob Wood in the local Sunday supplement which recruited more than 30 members in that city alone! For details contact: David Kelsey, 2590 63rd Ave. So., St. Petersburg, FL 33712.

PENNSYLVANIA —

The beginning of a Keystone State Chapter is well underway. Lee Hickcox of Gettysburg has agreed to take on the role of State Coordinator just as soon as he finishes up his studies at Penn State. In the meantime, please contact: Frank M. Schramko, 1711 Goucher St., Johnstown, PA 15905.

NEW JERSEY —

The Garden State members are also interested in some form of local organization. Those willing to get things going can contact either: Bill Reed, 19 Lexington Rd., Bordentown, NJ 08505 OR LTC Charles E. Visconti USAR, 239 Black River Rd., RR#2, Long Valley, NJ 07853.

HAWAII —

Surfers, sunners and girl watchers should contact: LTC Thomas C. Fry AUS Ret., Box 1721, Kailua, Kona, HI 96740. State Coordinator.

Oahu Chapter — LTC Ned Glenn USA Ret., 119 Onekea Dr., Kailua, HI 96734.

OREGON —

Some AFIOregonians have already been contacted. Others should get in touch with: Dr. James C. Luce, 180 Timberlake Dr., Ashland, OR 97520.

WASHINGTON —

You live here and you know it doesn't rain all of the time. Let's have a picnic. Contact: Tom Powers, 3229 74th Ave. S.E., Mercer Island, WA 98040.

MONTANA —

Most of our members seem to be in Missoula but the guy in the "Big Sky" to contact is: Lt. Col. Richard A. Grant USAF Ret., Box 67X RR#1, Victor, MT 59875.

IN MEMORIAM

Henry C. Sutton died in Washington, D.C., on 20 May, 1977.

Clyde M. Gregory died in Santa Rosa, California, on February 21, 1977

Hugh E. Simpson died in Reston, Virginia, on June 5, 1977

in the afio pouch. . .

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(Letters from readers are encouraged. Pseudonyms acceptable. Some may be edited for reasons of space.)

To the Editor,

To set the record straight from the beginning, let me say that my comments are not to be construed as critical of anyone in the organization. I joined Dave and his little band in the beginning and participated in his living room in the weekly sessions when the down-with-intelligence screams were at their peak and will never forget the hard work and sacrifices Dave and his wife, and a handful of associates put up with to get the show on the road.

Any organization that did not have members with occasional differing views would have to be either somnolent or imbecilic. Where all think alike, nobody thinks at all.

I feel that we should have the capability to be far more aggressive. Whether that means that the whole organization should be more aggressive or whether we should establish a subordinate yet separate action group to fight fire with fire I am not sure but I believe that our entire membership should give it some serious thought and hash it out at our next convention.

Here are some examples of why we need some kind of quick reaction capability.

Case 1: Phillip Agee, upon being informed that he was persona non grata in England, announced that he might return to the United States. The Justice Department then advised that it would not prosecute him. I deplore Justice's decision to wave a welcome-home banner at Agee while he was still abroad in a privileged sanctuary where he could name U.S. agents and profit from exposing CIA secrets with impunity. Rather than the release that AFIO issued, I would have preferred an AFIO announcement that, even though the Justice Department would not prosecute Agee, AFIO would take action. What could AFIO do? It could instigate a class action civil suit in behalf of the families of agents whose cover was enthusiastically blasted by Agee. Or AFIO could militate for a criminal action against Agee for his violation of the security oath that we all signed and he was the first to desecrate. Agee is still at it naming CIA agents and causing turmoil in Australia.

Case 2: The nomination of Ted Sorensen to head the CIA filled many of us with misgivings, but AFIO as a group did nothing to oppose it. This was a very unpalatable bullet to bite. Sorensen is a decent, highly intelligent man. But if you read his affidavit in support of Dan Ellsberg, that — for most of us, I believe — would rip it. It certainly ripped it for me. I went up to Capitol Hill to speak out against the Sorensen nomination. A sprinkling of AFIO members were also there — on their own. Far better if we had been there as an official AFIO delegation.

Case 3: Congressman Michael Harrington (D-Mass.). The same "honorable" congressman who on his own took highly classified information pertaining to CIA activities against the Communists in Chile from a committee of which he was not a member. He then released this info for world wide consumption. This Congressman attended a meeting of the Commission to Inquire into the Crimes of the Chilean Military Junta in Mexico City in February 1975. This group is a creature of the World Peace Council, a Soviet-backed communist front that operates out of Helsinki, Finland. According to one of the notes found in the briefcase of Orlando Letelier after he was murdered, Congressman Harrington had been paid \$380.00 from "Helsinki" and \$174.00 from Letelier's own pocket. While AFIO was vociferous on the Congressman's release of classified information I feel that if we had more clout and a more pointed reaction capability he might have received more than a light tap on the wrist from Congress and might possibly have lost his re-election last fall.

Case 4: A variety of so-called "Institutes," "Committees," "Coalitions" and "Councils" that are constantly pouring out propaganda. On a recent TV talk show General Westmoreland was asked what single thing contributed most to our loss in Vietnam. The General indicated that one of these small "institutes" such as we find around Washington which poured out reams of anti-war material deserved that honor. There has been a crescendo of "think-tank" type studies from some of these "honorable" institutions in recent times vilifying CIA, NSA, the Pentagon, American business abroad etc. While I am not proposing a witch-hunt I do

believe that when solid evidence exists to prove that such an institute is employing someone receiving money from a communist nation who has not registered as a foreign agent we should have the capability to do something about it.

Case 5: Prosecution of FBI Agent Kearney. I'm sure the majority of us agree on this one. My point in listing it is that I believe we should make a full-fledged project of providing every bit of legitimate assistance we can. Our action team should advise his defense attorneys that we would like to help. Our membership should seek out their local philanthropists and shake the money tree. We should develop an unclassified fact sheet summarizing the hundreds of bombings; the thousands of weapons stolen from National Guard Armories and gun stores; the many subversive bomb manufacturing locations; we should provide the defense with any unclassified jewels that we can pertaining to the depths that subversives had achieved against our nation. We should help.

Case 6: Constant serious breaches of National Security by a few members of the media. While the vast majority of people in the media act in a responsible manner there is an easily identifiable few who seem to enjoy digging out our country's innermost secrets and splashing them on the front page. Seymour Hersch who rose from unemployed obscurity to instant fame and fortune on the tides of his My Lai "expose" was pushed off the front pages by Woodward and Bernstein for a couple of years and was on his way back to obscurity until he found his new crusade. . . CIA and the intelligence establishment. His "earthshaking revelations" as to how CIA was trying to keep Chile out of the Communist orbit (albeit ignoring the fact that 70% of the people had voted against communism) gained him renewed fame and front pages and precipitated the debacle which had liberal congressmen falling over each other for places on committees, news space, TV time and even presidential opportunities. Our nation's efforts through CIA to thwart Communist takeover of Angola were attacked as though they were being perpetrated by Attila the Hun. Then Bob Woodward returned to the front pages with a five column spread "CIA paid millions to Jordan's King Hussein." The story, alleging payment over a twenty-year period, was splashed on the same day Secretary Vance was in Jordan to work for progress on the middle east situation with King Hussein. Then Woodward came back with another front page story on the "crack, super-secret intelligence unit called Task Force 157." While indicating that the "Pentagon and CIA spokesmen declined comment yesterday, saying that all matters relating to Task Force 157 are still classified" Woodward proceeded to spell out how the unit had been involved in "some of the most sensitive missions of the last decade" controlling "as many as 75 contract agents" or "spies for hire" who monitor key ports of the world, Soviet Vessels and the shipment of nuclear weapons". . . "communications monitoring and intelligence gathering for recovery of downed airplanes and sunken ships". . . "recruiting foreign espionage agents and infiltrating international maritime unions." I don't know whether Woodward's story is true and accurate. The important point is that neither I nor any of my 220 million fellow American civilians have the need to know the information revealed in his detailed "scoop" pertaining to a possible operation for the good of America. The only ones who will rejoice at his disclosures are those who would destroy our first line of defense, those who would give aid and comfort to our enemies and those who would shake the hell out of our friends and allies.

My point in re-hashing all of the above is that I believe we should have the capability in AFIO to keep track of these characters. . . keep a box score . . . and if any writer consistently flaunts security we should let the world know about it and even have the capability to slap a class action suit for damages against him and his sponsoring media.

To conclude, I realize that I may be coming on as something of a wild-eyed radical myself to some of you. So be it. We have all put in careers for our country for what must of necessity be a quiet business. There are many thousands of our associates now back on farms and in factories and schools who would never dream of violating security oaths they took while in one of our several services. Yet on the other hand there are the few who constantly do. . . and profit from it. We need the capability to give them a bloody nose. Absence of an Official Secrets Act should not deter us from civil action. If it can be proven to a jury that a certain action has been injurious to a group they may allow damages to that group. I don't know whether we should say that the group is the American people or AFIO but I do know we could convince a jury of damage. What we need more than anything else is a "can-do" legal team. The attackers have their Kunstlers et al and we must have a solid, motivated legal counterpart to help us out. Class actions can be handled at first on a contingency basis and after we win a few we could afford a legal staff. On such a team we need some gutsy people who are not afraid of being ridiculed by the press. When the word gets around as to what we are doing you are going to find that there are a lot of good Americans out there to help us with money and support. I would appreciate comments, pro or con, prior to our September meeting.

Col. Bruce K. Baumgardner, USAF Ret.
Chevy Chase, MD

Retired From The CIA? What's New?

I have passed the second anniversary of my retirement from CIA, still amazed at the ease with which I shed my cloak and dagger and bemused by skeptics who keep tripping over them. Some critics of my recent book which, of course, does not maul CIA wonder if I am a closet spy. Their speculation ranges from coy asides hinting that, after all, retirement could be just another "CIA cover devised for Mr. Phillips' continued employment by the Agency" to outright charges that I am one of CIA's "paid apologists." Presumably, this would then account, rather neatly, for my attitudes on intelligence issues, not to speak of children, sex, and Chinese cooking.

Two years ago, at the height of the controversy over American intelligence activities, this kind of skepticism was certainly understandable. I was leaving CIA with the stated, if somewhat presumptuous intention of defending the intelligence community from a welter of myths, misunderstandings, and half-told stories. Not exactly the makings for a popular crusade, but I figured only those of us from the "inside" had a chance of sorting out the right's and wrong's — of which there were ample to satisfy people standing on all sides of the imbroglio.

When we formed The Association of Former Intelligence Officers I recognized we would encounter a credibility problem of some magnitude. So, I was not surprised when Douglas Kiker asked in my first television interview, "How do I know you are not on the CIA payroll?" Nor, when I couldn't **prove** I was no longer a Clandestine Service employee.

In the months following — lecturing, writing, and being interviewed — I became quite familiar with that question, and a satisfactory answer remained just as illusive. Lacking a better crutch, I fell back on some old spy lore which went, "You can't cover an elephant with a handkerchief" by adding "Nor can you uncover him by waving a wand and words." Peccable logic, but the best I could do for the time being.

Ultimately, I received some assistance from an unexpected quarter. In the fall of 1975 I was summoned to testify before Senator Church's Select Committee on the matter of CIA's role in Chile. Mr. F.A.O. Schwarz, Jr., Chief Counsel for the Committee, started off the session by asking me if the CIA's hand was behind the establishment of The Association of Former Intelligence Officers. Then, was I now being paid by CIA? For almost twenty minutes, his interrogation dwelled on those two points. I had ample opportunity, really more than I cared for, to deny any CIA connection whatsoever with my activities since retirement.

During the luncheon break, Mr. Schwarz apologized for challenging so repetitiously whether my retirement activities were aboveboard, especially since the issue was not strictly germane to the subject before the Committee. But, as he explained, Senator Church told him to stall until some documents to be used for exhibits were xeroxed. I assured him, whatever the

reason, I was pleased to have the opportunity to get on the record with sworn testimony, easily verifiable by the Senate, that retirement indeed had ended my work and relationship with CIA.

I haven't been aware of any credibility problem with the Senate since then. Senator Church invited me, along with Messrs. Morton Halperin, Clark Clifford, and Cyrus Vance, to form a panel dedicated to the unlikely proposition that we could agree enough on what the future of covert action should be to make recommendations to his Committee. Somewhat easier was Senator Abraham Ribicoff's request that I present the results of an AFIO survey on intelligence issues to his Government Operations Committee. And it was pleasant when Senator Gary Hart accepted an invitation to a recent AFIO luncheon, a switch on the Meet the Press format where the Senator fielded tough questions from four former senior intelligence officers. (In a whispered aside to me after observing the composition of the panel Senator Hart described the session as "Bill Colby's revenge").

That's only the Senate though. Some segments of the media, notably book reviewers, remain unconvinced, and it bothers me. Not so much the fact that they still doubt, but how they doubt. "Was all this — his lecturing, writing and the association — just another covert operation funded by the CIA? Phillips strongly denies it, and perhaps he had indeed hung up his cloak and dagger, but **quien sabe?**" That's from The New York Times. Or, in a second review in the same newspaper, ". . . I'm not altogether sure whether, considering how well-done the book is, it shouldn't be considered as one more example of the agency's meddling in our domestic affairs. . . ." And so on.

Anyone entertaining notions that I'm out in front of a CIA covert operation using retirement as a cover must reckon I am incredibly stupid and CIA, completely irresponsible. My sworn statements before the Senate aside, all CIA covert operations, without exception, must be made known today to seven oversight committees in Congress, all of which are acutely aware of the flat injunction against CIA conducting domestic operations. So, it's not indulgence I seek, but just credit for enough sense to empty that proverbial boot with the directions on the heel.

Abe Lincoln is said to have told about a Springfield friend noted for his skepticism. It seems one day, as they passed a flock of sheep grazing in a field, Abe commented to his friend, "Those sheep have been sheared in the last couple of days." After some solid deliberation, the friend replied, "Seems that way. . . at least on the side facing us." I can't vouch for the story's authenticity, but for all those who still doubt my retirement, I can only say that, if they will just look, surely

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OR01 AF10

3 May 1977

Mr. Jack Coakley
AFIO
McLean Office Bldg.
6723 Whittier Avenue
McLean, Virginia 22101

Dear Jack,

We have checked out your request for Admiral Turner to address a luncheon of Washington area AFIO members during the month of June. I regret to report that Admiral Turner does not wish to take on any more speaking engagements until autumn.

We appreciate your invitation nevertheless, and I hope he can have a "raincheck" until October -- November. He very much wants to speak to your people but his schedule of engagements has simply become too burdensome for the time being.

Thank you in any case for the inquiry and we hope you will recontact us about a later date.

Sincerely,



Deputy Assistant for Public Affairs

kss

STAT

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| <p>Jack Coakley, AFIO, called to express their disappointment but understanding that the Admiral can't make their convention. However, they are aware that the Admiral is speaking to the National Military Intelligence Association and therefore would like him to address a luncheon meeting of AFIO members in the Washington area during the first two weeks in June -- actual date at his convenience. There would be about 250 persons attending the luncheon. jdc</p> <p>cc: Rattray. Coakley's phone: 790-0320</p> | | | |
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PHONE (703) 790-0320

Association of
Former
Intelligence
Officers



14 June 1977

STAT

[Redacted]
Special Assistant to the Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

STAT

Dear [Redacted]

I have enclosed a copy of a recent U.S. Information Agency memo provided by one of our members. The memo was sent to all principal USIS posts and some State Department offices. I think the Director of Central Intelligence might be interested in learning just what other agencies of the government are doing with regard to the community.

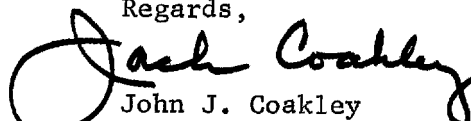
As you can see from the enclosed, the subject of "Domestic Spying" appears to be of continued interest to USIA and there is some fear that its operating officials may not be aware of the Church committee report.

The existence of this set of memos causes one to wonder, "Why now?" Was this required as a result of an identifiable problem? Was it at the direction of USIA? State? Did some bureaucrat decide to enlighten the information officers? In short, was this trip--and expense--really necessary?

We will probably forward the memo to some member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee asking those questions but the community can probably ascertain the purpose of the exercise more rapidly.

I am also enclosing a letter from the Department of Justice Civil Division indicating they have no knowledge of a Mr. Philip Agee. We will respond to the letter and suggest places they might look for information but thought you would find their comment interesting.

Regards,


John J. Coakley
Executive Director



Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

7 JUN 1977

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
CIVIL DIVISION

Mr. David Atlee Phillips
McLean Office Building
Suite 303A
6723 Whittier Avenue
McLean, Virginia 22101

Dear Mr. Phillips:

Your recent communication referring to the Freedom of Information Act was received in the Office of Management and Finance on May 18, 1977 and was forwarded to the Civil Division for response as to this Division on May 23, 1977.

In response to your request, a search of the indexes of the Civil Division files fails to disclose any files under the name Philip Agee, or which may be retrieved by that name or by any identifying number, symbol or other identifying particular assigned to that name.

If you have any definitive information that Civil Division files do exist which pertain to your request, please forward such information and a further search will be made based on this new information.

Very truly yours,

Barbara Allen Babcock
BARBARA ALLEN BABCOCK
Assistant Attorney General



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VIA

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3

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CM-550

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USIAC Ft. Bragg, JFK Center for Military Assistance

ATTN: Johnson

E.O. 11652: N/A

May 27, 1977

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Subject: CSCE - Controversial "Human Rights" Cases in US (Domestic Spying)

Reference:

The five attached summaries are the second installment in IOP's continuing effort to provide Posts with information on alleged American violations of individual human rights. As was true of the previous set, these summaries are not intended to provide ammunition to counter allegations of such violations. Their purpose is to supply brief, factual background material on issues that might be unfamiliar to those in the field.

POSTS

All five articles this time are concerned with violations of individual civil rights which may have occurred in the course of domestic spying by various governmental bodies. The summaries are based chiefly upon the April 1976 report of the findings of Senator Frank Church's Select Committee on Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities.

It is necessary to emphasize, therefore, that the activities mentioned herein are those alleged by the Select Committee. In some cases the agencies involved have corroborated the Select Committee's findings; in other cases they have not. Further, the Select Committee's opinions with regard to the legality or illegality of various acts have not, for the most part, been tried in the courts. Lawsuits testing the issues - whether initiated by individuals, organizations, or the Justice Department - are only now entering the judicial hopper. Final adjudication is, in many instances, still a long way off.

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Enclosures:

Summaries of specific cases

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ENLIST IN THE "WAR ON WASTE" - USE AIRPOUCH INSTEAD OF TELEGRAMS

1A-5 (9-73)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

The final report, issued in April 1976, of Sen. Frank Church's Select Committee on Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities detailed a number of FBI programs which, the report said, either violated the First Amendment rights of U.S. citizens or were, at least, of questionable legality.

Chief among the Select Committee's targets was COINTELPRO (acronymn for "counterintelligence program"), under which certain techniques the FBI had used against hostile foreign agents were adopted for use against perceived domestic threats to the established political and social order.

COINTELPRO was established in 1956 as a formal counter-intelligence program, coordinated from Bureau headquarters, to combat communism. Up until 1956 anti-communism efforts had, for the most part, been the domain of individual field offices. COINTELPRO later expanded its activities beyond covert action against the Communist Party to countering four other categories of "threats to domestic tranquility": the "Socialist Worker's Party" program (1961-69); the "White Hate Group" program (1964-71); the Black Nationalist Hate Group" program (1967-71); and the "New Left" program (1968-71). These categories were broad and sometimes inaccurate, since for example, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was labeled a "Black Nationalist Hate Group" and the whole of Antioch College - "vanguard of the New Left" - was a Bureau target under the New Left program. All COINTELPRO programs were officially terminated on April 27, 1971, but the Select Committee found evidence of three instances of COINTELPRO-type activity carried out after that date. Still other instances have been alleged by several sources since the appearance of the Committee's report.

The Committee's report described the techniques employed in the COINTELPRO programs. Among these were the use of Bureau-originated mailings or phone calls to ridicule various groups, to promote factionalism among or within groups, or to put damaging personal information about a subject into the hands of his or her family, friends, or associates; using employer-contacts to try to get subjects fired from their jobs; using "friendly" media contacts to disseminate Bureau propaganda without identifying the source; falsely labeling COINTELPRO targets as informants to destroy their effectiveness within their groups; using hostile third parties

or groups against target groups; using informants to raise controversial issues or widen rifts within organizations; channeling damaging information about subjects to prosecutors or judges when the subjects were involved in legal actions; notifying groups that certain of their members were "Communists," or exposing alleged communist connections of various groups to the media; attempting to frustrate the election or appointment of candidates through the dissemination of damaging information or allegations about them.

The Select Committee's report described other Bureau techniques (used in COINTELPRO and other investigative projects as well) which monitor Constitutionally-protected activity and the private lives of Americans:

1) The FBI used intelligence informants of two types: those recruited and then infiltrated into a group under investigation and those already belonging to a group who are "turned" as FBI informants. Committee figures showed that the FBI was using more than 1500 such persons as of June 30, 1975 (the number had been substantially larger in earlier years; more recent estimates have put the number of FBI informants much higher). In addition to paid and directed informants, the FBI utilizes "confidential sources" such as bankers, phone company employees, or landlords, who are able to furnish information because their positions make them privy to information regarding the subjects of investigations. The FBI had approved 1254 such sources as of June 1975.

2) According to the report, FBI use of warrantless wiretapping and bugging for limited purposes had received the approval of Presidents and Attorneys General from 1931 up through the time the report was written. The Select Committee's verdict on the practice is that "electronic surveillance has proven to be a valuable technique for the collection of foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence information within the legitimate mandate of the FBI. But the history of the use of this technique by the Bureau also proves that its dangers are equally great; without precise standards and effective checks to restrain its use, innocent American citizens may be victims; without rigid means of restricting the dissemination of information generated through electronic surveillance, Government officials may learn the most personal and the most political expressions and beliefs of its targets."

3) The FBI has, over the years, conducted hundreds of warrantless surreptitious entries of private premises for the purpose

of planting electronic surveillance equipment or for the purpose of conducting searches and photographing potential evidence (the latter type of action is generally called a "black bag job"). Exact numbers of such actions are impossible to establish, since a "do not file" procedure was often used for reporting these activities. J. Edgar Hoover banned "black bag jobs" against domestic targets in 1966. Evidence produced after the publication of the committee's report, however, has indicated that large numbers of "black bag jobs" were conducted against domestic groups between the 1966 cut-off and 1974 or even later. The Justice Department and the FBI have not terminated the use of warrantless entry for bugging purposes when foreign intelligence is involved. The Committee has recommended that all entries should require judicial warrants, which would be issued only in narrowly defined circumstances and with procedural safeguards "to minimize the acquisition and retention of non-foreign intelligence information about Americans."

4) The FBI received about 58,000 copies of pieces of mail from the CIA under Project Hunter. In addition, the FBI conducted eleven mail-opening programs of its own within the U.S. between 1940 and 1966. Generally, these FBI mail-opening programs were much more selective than similar CIA efforts, and all at least began with the intent of intercepting communications to or from illegal foreign agents. However, according to the Select Committee, safeguards in the system could not "prevent the opening of significant volumes of mail to or from entirely innocent American citizens." The FBI's own mail-opening programs were terminated by J. Edgar Hoover in July 1966, but the Bureau continued to receive copies of opened mail from the CIA until 1973.

Numerous lawsuits have been filed against the FBI as a result of the findings of the Select Committee and other groups investigating the extent of the Bureau's domestic spying. In April 1977 - for the first time in the FBI's history - an indictment was lodged against a Bureau employee for felonies he allegedly committed in the course of his official duties. The charges stemmed from mail-openings and wiretappings conducted in New York between 1970 and 1972.

According to the April 1976 report issued by Senator Frank Church's Select Committee on Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Operations, the National Security Agency "intercepted and disseminated communications of American citizens whose privacy ought to be protected under our Constitution."

(NSA was established by Presidential order in 1952, assuming the responsibilities of the Armed Forces Security Agency. One of NSA's chief functions is to collect, from foreign electronic-communication sources, intelligence considered vital to the national security. NSA is the largest of the government's intelligence agencies).

The chief questionable activities, according to the Committee, in which NSA engaged were:

1) Beginning in the early 1960's, NSA intercepted and disseminated international communications of American citizens and groups whose names appeared on "watch lists" supplied by other governmental agencies. In 1967 the names of individuals and groups participating in civil-rights or anti-war activity were added to the watch lists, in order to discover possible "foreign influences." In 1969 the program was given the code name MINARET; at that point the program was expanded to investigate not only foreign influences but any activities which might endanger national security. The watch lists were abandoned in late 1973, when the Attorney General's office advised that they were of "questionable legality."

2) Operation SHAMROCK was the code name of a project, begun in 1945, under which NSA (and its parent agency) received copies of international telegrams sent to, from, or through the U.S. Under SHAMROCK, NSA had access to virtually all international telegrams carried by RCA Global and ITT World Communications. Western Union International seems to have turned over to NSA only its telegraph traffic to one (unnamed) foreign country. Western Union ceased participation in 1972, and the program was terminated entirely in May 1975 by order of the Secretary of Defense.

3) From 1970-73, at the request of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, NSA monitored selected telephone circuits between the U.S. and South America. NSA ceased this activity in June 1973, but continued to monitor some of the same circuits for foreign intelligence purposes until July 1975.

4) NSA, at various times, maintained files on approximately 75,000 American citizens, in possible violation of those citizens' Constitutional rights. The files were destroyed by the Agency in 1974. NSA also conducted at least eight surreptitious break-ins in the late 1950's and early 60's, mostly for the purpose of planting bugging devices.

5) Although NSA no longer maintains watch lists, it still has access to all messages transmitted over any international communication channel it chooses to monitor. There remains, therefore, the opportunity for NSA to intercept and disseminate communications which the American sender or receiver expects to be kept private. Internal NSA guidelines ensure that the decision to disseminate intercepted communications is based on the importance of the foreign intelligence they contain, rather than on the mere fact that certain U.S. citizens or groups are involved. This procedure is, however, subject to change by future NSA directives.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

According to the 1975 report of the Presidential commission headed by Vice-President Rockefeller and the 1976 report of Senator Frank Church's select committee, the primary instances of CIA domestic surveillance of U.S. citizens are the following:

A. Between 1953 and 1973 the CIA opened and photographed mail going between the U.S. and foreign countries. The locations for these operations were New York City (continuously between 1953 and 1973 for mail to and from the Soviet Union), San Francisco (four separate occasions, each of one to three weeks' duration, between 1969 and 1971 for mail from China), New Orleans (two and a half weeks in 1957 for mail to and from Latin America), and Hawaii (one year in the mid-1950's for mail from Asia). The programs resulted in the opening and photographing of nearly 250,000 items of correspondence, the vast majority of them to or from U.S. residents. In addition, the CIA has targeted the mail of particular individuals within the U.S.: at least twelve such instances are recorded in CIA files. Further, between 1958 and 1973 the CIA gave copies of 58,000 pieces of mail to the FBI in an operation called Project Hunter. Then-CIA Director William Colby ordered the suspension of CIA mail opening on February 15, 1973.

B. Under pressure from the White House, the CIA began its CHAOS program in 1967 with the goal of determining the extent of hostile foreign influence on domestic unrest among students, Vietnam war opponents, minorities, and the New Left. CHAOS's activities included 1) the collection from the FBI and from CIA agents abroad of information on dissident individuals and organizations; 2) the processing and storage of that information in about 13,000 files, in which were indexed the names of some 300,000 Americans; 3) the preparation of about 40 reports, both general and particular, on CHAOS's findings (these reports went to the White House, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and other high-level officials); 4) the dissemination of raw data to the FBI; 5) the penetration of CHAOS agents into radical activities in the U.S.; and 6) the receipt of information from the CIA's mail-interception program and from the National Security Agency's interception of international electronic communications. CHAOS's activities began to decline in late 1972, at the same time that radical activity in the U.S. was declining. CHAOS was terminated on March 5, 1974, by then-CIA Director Colby.

C. Project RESISTANCE grew out of an effort by the CIA's Office of Security to ensure the safety of CIA recruiters on college campuses. In late 1967, a deputy director of the CIA requested Security to study campus unrest on a systematic basis. The collection of information relied mostly upon public information fed to headquarters from CIA field stations. Although there is no evidence of infiltration in support of RESISTANCE, field offices did obtain information from confidential community sources such as campus officials and police authorities. Eventually the project developed 600-700 files and indexed 12,000-16,000 names. RESISTANCE was terminated at the end of June 1973.

D. Project MERRIMAC (again an effort of the Office of Security) began in early 1967 with the goal of protecting CIA facilities and employees in and around Washington, D.C. CIA agents (both regular and part-time special hires) infiltrated Washington-area organizations and gathered information on such matters as organizational finances and demonstration timetables. The last reports from MERRIMAC agents were filed in late 1968, although the project itself was not officially ended until September 1970.

E. In the course of investigations of former or current CIA employees, of employees of other government agencies, and of U.S. citizens in contact with the subjects of other investigations, the CIA's Office of Security at various times conducted twelve break-ins of homes and offices in the U.S. (the last in 1971), 32 domestic wiretaps (the last in 1965) and 32 domestic bugging projects (the last in 1968). All of these activities were carried out without judicial warrants. (The Rockefeller Commission stated in its report that more "mike and wire" operations may have taken place, but the Commission was unable to document them.)

A number of bills have been introduced in Congress to prohibit the recurrence of such abuses, but at the present time none has been passed. Large numbers of Americans have filed lawsuits against the CIA for damages incurred as a result of the CIA's domestic spying activities.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

According to Senator Frank Church's Select Committee on Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Internal Revenue Service abuses in the area of domestic intelligence fall into two main categories:

A) The IRS improperly granted tax-record access to other government agencies or branches (chiefly the FBI) for purposes unconnected with the prosecution of tax-law violations. Without asking the specific reason why tax records were requested, IRS would forward them to the FBI. The FBI frequently used the information in the records to harrass targets of COINTELPRO (e. g., by suggesting that IRS conduct an audit of an activist's tax returns, thus diverting the subject's time and attention from dissident activities). The FBI also utilized IRS records to determine the names of contributors to various activist organizations. The names were, upon occasion, passed on to the Nixon White House. The CIA, on approximately 13 occasions, received tax return data from IRS through informal channels.

B) There were possible abuses and excesses committed within IRS's own intelligence gathering procedures as well. In 1965 Senator Edward Long's Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure discovered a number of cases of unlawful electronic surveillance by IRS agents, mostly in the course of investigating organized crime figures. In 1975 an internal IRS inspection reported overzealous and improper use of undercover agents by IRS - a finding which the Church Committee substantiated.

In June 1969 the IRS formed the secret Special Service Staff (SSS) in response to White House and Congressional criticism of inadequate IRS efforts against "activist" and "ideological" persons and groups. Working from lists of names - often supplied by the FBI or Justice Department - the SSS singled out approximately 8000 individuals and 3000 organizations for special scrutiny in matters of tax-law compliance. Selection for investigation was based upon exercise of First Amendment rights rather than upon suspected tax evasion, and targets included organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the Head Start Program, and the National Urban League. The SSS was abolished by IRS Commissioner

Donald Alexander in 1973, shortly after he took office and learned of the secret branch's existence. (The SSS was not the first IRS activity of this type. In late 1961, responding to a remark made by President Kennedy at a news conference, the IRS began special scrutiny of the tax-exempt status of several right and left-wing organizations. At one point there were plans to expand this Ideological Organizations Project to include approximately 10,000 groups. However, the investigation withered away in the mid-1960's.)

In May 1973, the IRS established the Information Gathering and Retrieval System (IGRS), a computerized program intended to gather and retrieve intelligence not only on specific allegations of tax fraud but also on any activities that might lead to or be useful in such allegations. For the most part, the discretion of the individual IRS agent was the only criterion for the inclusion or rejection of data in the system. The media alleged that this was an IRS "hit list" and tied it to the Nixon "enemies list." The Church Committee uncovered evidence of the beginnings of politically-motivated intelligence collection under IGRS in one to three IRS districts. IGRS was abolished in January 1975 (there were 465,442 names of individuals or groups on its index at the time, including those of some targets and of many others mentioned only incidentally in the course of intelligence gathering).

Operation Leprechaun was a 1972 intelligence gathering project participated in by IRS and the Justice Department; the target of Leprechaun was political corruption in Miami-Dade County, Florida. A number of IRS abuses were associated with Leprechaun: excessive amounts of information on targets' sex and drinking habits were collected; electronic surveillance contravening IRS regulations was carried out; project informants burglarized a Congressional candidate's office and stole tax-related documents; thirty-four informants were engaged for the project and were not kept under effective control. Most of the Leprechaun abuses are attributable to the manner in which the special agent in charge handled the operation and do not necessarily indicate the widespread existence of such tactics. They do, however, seem to indicate lack of sufficient IRS restrictions and safeguards on the manner in which investigations are carried out. According to the Church Committee, IRS management in 1975 began to impose such restrictions, which, "if fully implemented... will reduce the likelihood of recurrence of abuses such as those associated with Operation Leprechaun" (these controls, it should be noted, also apply to wholesale intelligence gathering such as that practiced in the IGRS project). Recently a Florida grand jury is said to have found no evidence to substantiate the allegations that IRS agents violated civil rights or sought to collect non-tax-related information in the course of Leprechaun.

Currently IRS is proposing a one-billion dollar computer network, the Tax Administration System, which by 1985 would have 8300 terminals and allow authorized employees to receive the tax returns of citizens within seconds. The project is said to be the federal government's largest-ever data-processing undertaking. Several Congressmen have called for a halt to the project until its civil-liberties aspects have been thoroughly examined.

U.S. MILITARY

Senator Frank Church's Select Committee on Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities devoted a portion of its April 1976 report to the improper surveillance of private citizens by the military. The report detailed activities under four headings:

1. In the early 1960's Army intelligence began to collect information on private citizens and organizations in order to brief military commanders whose units were sent to control racial disturbances in the South. In 1967, as civil-rights and antiwar activities increased, the Army greatly increased its surveillance activities and ceased limiting those activities only to prospective sites of disturbances. In 1968 about 1500 Army intelligence agents were involved in monitoring civilian protests. Agents infiltrated organizations around the country, posed as newsmen and photographed demonstrators, employed various harrassment techniques against a number of groups, and between 1967 and 1970 they maintained files on at least 100,000 individual American citizens as well as on nearly all dissident groups in the country. In 1970 many of these activities were exposed in the press, and Congressional hearings began on the matter. On March 1, 1971, the Department of Defense issued a directive prohibiting the military from collecting information on persons and organizations unaffiliated with it, except where essential to a military mission. The order also required that all information held in violation of the directive be destroyed.

2. Between 1967 and 1970, the Army Security Agency, which usually engages in monitoring international communications for foreign intelligence purposes, was involved in several instances of monitoring civilian band radio broadcasts in the U.S. The Army ordered the practice stopped on December 10, 1970, after its exposure in national news media.

3. Military agents in the U.S., Germany, and Japan have investigated and infiltrated civilian groups which the military considered to be "threats" to itself or its personnel. Of particular interest to all the services were groups running coffee houses and other gathering places, legal counseling services, or newspapers for the personnel of nearby U.S. military installations.

Surveillance of this type is still permitted to continue, although there is no express statutory authority for it.

4. In the late 60's and early 70's Army agents assisted the intelligence efforts of law enforcement agencies at all levels of government municipal police departments, the FBI, and the Secret Service, among others. The legal basis for such activities is questionable and the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 prohibits the use of the military for executing the law, except under circumstances authorized by the Constitution or an act of Congress, such as the power of the President to use the armed forces to enforce the law in times of insurrection. However, according to the Select Committee's findings, "There is no statute which expressly prohibits the investigation of private citizens by the military." The Posse Comitatus Act and the Privacy Act of 1974 have some bearing upon the issue, but the latter "falls short of providing adequate assurance that the military will not engage in surveillance of private citizens in the future. The statute is written as applying generally to all government agencies; its particular application to the military is unclear."

June 1977

*Association
of Former Intell-
gence Officers*

Intelligence Officers Have Association

If you ever served as a member of the "intelligence community" the ASSOCIATION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS, 6723 Whittier Ave., Suite 303A, McLean, Va. 22101, is looking for new members at this date.

There are several classes of membership including Active, Associate and Life Members. It produces a publication called the Periscope and a membership directory. In law enforcement circles it may be of interest to former members of the military who served in the Intelligence Field or if you now are part of the department's network of "intelligence investigators." Dues are \$10 a year.

The list of officers is impressive and readers should direct their inquiry to AFIO.

29 APRIL 1977

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 27

Spies, Indians, farmlands, taxes

EXCERPT:

Readers write

Recently the Department of Justice advised attorneys for Philip Agee that the United States Government did not anticipate any legal action against Agee should he decide to return to this country as a result of deportation proceedings by Great Britain.

At a meeting in Washington on April 6, 1977 the Board of Governors [of which this writer is a member] of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers issued the following statement:

"We, the Board of Governors, and members of AFIO deplore the recent decision by the Department of Justice to decline any criminal prosecution of Philip Agee because of his authorship and publication of a book dealing with CIA operational activity. The Department of Justice did not deny that there were possible violations of law, but rather concluded that there were no grounds for prosecution. As professional intelligence officers we wish to voice our view that the disclosures of classified intelligence information seriously damaged the interests of the United States and the intelligence activities of CIA. Operations were closed down, people were moved and literally millions of dollars were spent to ameliorate the damage done by Agee's book. If we accept the decision of the Department of Justice, then

clearly our laws are inadequate. The Congress should consider this situation most carefully — if we can pass laws to protect cotton statistics, census data and income tax information, surely we can protect intelligence sources and methods with criminal sanctions."

Sudbury, Mass.

Helen Priest Deck

34
ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 3

THE WASHINGTON POST
29 January 1977

Panel Told of Half-Dozen CIA Plans, Hart Says

United Press International

Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) said yesterday the Senate Intelligence Committee has not vetoed any of about a half-dozen covert activities the Central Intelligence Agency proposed or carried out over the past few months.

Hart, a member of the committee, discussed intelligence operations during a reverse exercise in which he was questioned by former CIA Director William E. Colby and a panel of intelligence veterans.

The occasion was a luncheon in a private room at the Ft. Myer Officer's Club in Arlington, attended by several hundred members of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

"The CIA has to notify us of proposed covert activities," Hart said. "If we feel that it is outside bounds, we can go first to the President and express our doubts."

Reg 1 ARIO
61291 AFIO Assoc.
of Former Intelligence
Officers

UP-131

(SPIES)
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS HAS VOTED TO CHANGE ITS NAME, AND CONCENTRATE ON INCREASING PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATIONAL NEED FOR FIRST-CLASS INTELLIGENCE GATHERING.

ASSOCIATION SPOKESMAN DAVID PHILLIPS SAID TODAY A MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION'S BOARD DECIDED ON YESTERDAY TO CHANGE THE NAME TO THE ASSOCIATION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS. HE SAID SO MANY OF THE 1,200 MEMBERS HAD GONE INTO SECOND CAREERS, THE WORD "RETIRED" NO LONGER ACCURATELY DESCRIBED THE MEMBERSHIP.

PHILLIPS SAID THE BOARD ALSO DECIDED TO CONCENTRATE ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES ON PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL GOALS.

THE BOARD WILL HOLD ITS NEXT MEETING IN APRIL. IT WILL INCLUDE A PUBLIC SESSION OPEN TO THE PUBLIC.

UPI 12-09 05:49 PES

9 Dec 76



AFIO

PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FORMER INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. III NO. 1 WINTER 1977

AFIO—Strike A RIO— Board Meets In Washington

Chairman Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr, convened the second annual meeting of the Board of Governors in Washington on 8 December. The two principal agenda items were consideration of a change of name and final definition of the group's policy position and possible tax-exempt status.

Beginning as an A RIO meeting, the session ended as an AFIO meeting. The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers is now officially the Association of Former Intelligence Officers — the change reflecting membership consensus following a motion at the September convention. (The survey in which AFIO members expressed their views clearly indicated that a majority prefer to be characterized as "former" rather than "retired".)

The Board endorsed an AFIO Statement of Purpose which had been drafted by John C. Warner, AFIO legal advisor. The Statement, approved with only minor amendments, now constitutes the organization's official policy status, and reads as follows: "In furtherance of its stated corporate goal to inform all segments of the public on the role of intelligence and consistent with its Constitution and By-Laws, the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO) will, on a continuing basis, review current issues and proposed legislation involving intelligence and develop reasoned positions on such issues. The positions as developed by AFIO, together with the researched supporting data, will be made available to the public, including elected and appointed governmental officials." The Board's approval of the Statement, after 18 months of consideration and, occasionally, spirited debate between AFIO's members and officers, clears the way for solicitation of tax-deductible status from the Internal Revenue Service, which is now being pursued.

In other actions, the Board elected Mrs. Frances Hoffmeier as AFIO Secretary, to replace Mrs. Phyllis Beach, who served in the post for over a year. Mr. Warner was nominated to fill the vacant position on the Board of Governors, subject to ratification by the membership at the next general assembly. The Board approved the Treasurer's report from Louis Napoli.

A Life Membership category in AFIO was approved by the Board, and suitable methods of recognition outlined (see page 7).

The Board set dates for two upcoming AFIO meetings: the Third National Convention to be held on 15-16 September in Washington and the next meeting of



Senator Gary Hart Fields AFIO Questions in Washington. See page 3 for details.

the Board in Washington on 6 April. In the latter connection, AFIO position statements on several vital areas of United States intelligence operations will be formulated and released to the media.

In addition to Chairman Kirkpatrick, the following Board members attended the meeting: Robert Amory, Jr, Richard M. Bissell, Ray S. Cline, William E. Colby, Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham and Harry Rositzke. (Proxies or opinions on major issues had been received from most absent members). Also attending were President David A. Phillips, Vice President Walter S. Hammond, Board member-designate John C. Warner, Treasurer Louis Napoli and Executive Director Lt. Col. Jack Coakley.

The George Bush Award

The AFIO Board of Governors has announced the creation of the George Bush Award for outstanding contributions to United States intelligence. The first person to be selected will be honored at the September Convention. See press release insert for details.

AFIO members are requested to submit nominations, which may, for reasons of security, award retroactive recognition for services performed in the past.

Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4

Notes From National...Convention Set For September

The Third National Convention will be held September 15-16 at the Marriott Twin Bridges Convention Center near the Pentagon. At its December meeting the Board decided that the ready availability of key government officials in the Washington area would ensure a quality program. The Board also agreed to hold the 1978 Convention outside the Washington area at a resort area to be selected later.

MEMBERSHIP STILL GROWING —

Thanks to your recruiting efforts, AFIO membership has now surpassed 1600. The geographical distribution of the membership is also changing. Where once more than half resided in the Washington, D.C. area, that is down to one-third with other large contingents in Florida and California. We even have an AFIO member, William Ellis, on Guam! Sign up a new member yourself!! A new brochure is enclosed.

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY —

With this mailing you will notice an extra application sheet. We ask that you complete this and return it so our records will be more useful. You will note the request for employment information. We're not prying. Many of our members believe this information in a directory would be of value to other AFIO members who would prefer to do business with their colleagues whenever possible. Even if you do not wish to list that information, would you please send it for our records? A new directory is planned for publication in June and the next item explains the timing.

ANNUAL DUES —

1977 annual dues — still \$10.00 — are payable not later than 31 May. The fee covers membership through May 1978 and new membership cards will be issued reflecting the change in our name. Dues and member donations are still the only significant sources of funds and we ask that you respond early so we can establish a budget for our fiscal year beginning 1 June 1977. Those members who joined since November 1976 have submitted a \$15.00 fee and are paid through May 1978.

PRESS RELEASE —

Also in this mailing is a short press release on AFIO which we ask you to send to your local newspaper, radio station, civic organization, newsletters, etc. A blank space is provided for your name and home town. We have found that local notices such as this are a valuable source of new members when they contain an address to which readers can respond.

SYMPOSIUM PLANNED —

AFIO will sponsor a symposium on intelligence and national security on April 6, 1977 at the Twin Bridges Convention Center. The meeting is intended to examine the importance of the intelligence community in the development of national security policy and international relationships. Tentatively scheduled to run from 0930-1630, with a luncheon break, the symposium will be open to all AFIO members, local university students and faculty, members of the executive branch and staff members of Congress. The AFIO Board of Governors will serve as an expert panel for the conclusion of discussions. A notice with details of the meeting will be sent to Washington area members but other members who might be in the area at that time and would like to attend should request information from the national office.

AFIO FUND RAISING —

We want to thank those members who have provided us with the names of individuals who might be interested in making a financial contribution to the association. With the change in name and the holiday season the mailing to those prospective donors was postponed. A test solicitation was inconclusive and a different approach will be attempted in the next mailing, probably in March. A few members expressed concern about any solicitation of funds. While we understand their reluctance, we face the fact that some promising programs cannot be undertaken without additional funds. Among these are proposed college level courses related to intelligence and international affairs, seminars at high school and college campuses on the value of an intelligence career, possible publication of an authoritative magazine, programs at DOD military colleges and service academies, and other positive steps AFIO should now be taking. We believe that there are many individuals and selected organizations who would be willing to offer financial support for these worthwhile activities.

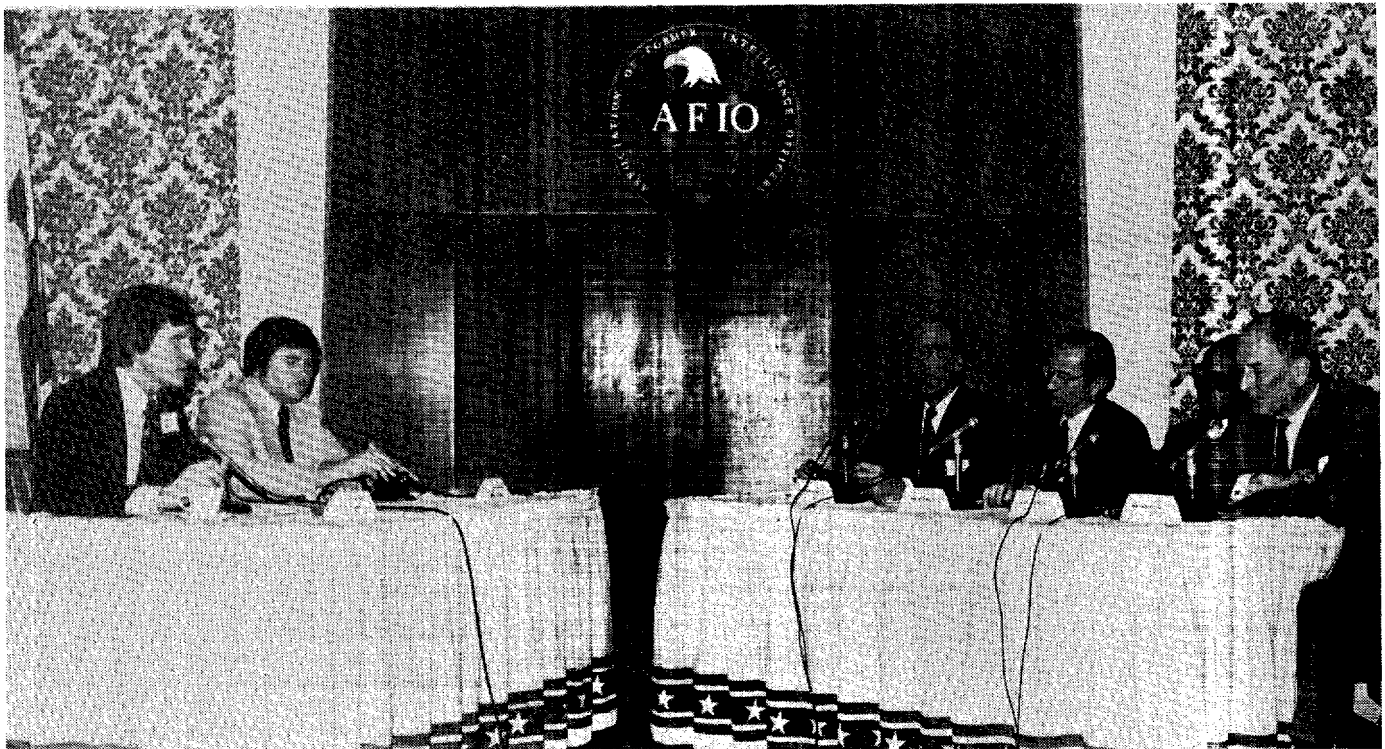
RALPH DUNCAN — MOVE OVER!!!!

In our May 1976 issue we saluted former Army Captain Ralph Duncan, a new "recruit" then semi-retired at age 85. This January, one of our "recruits" was Felix M. McWhirter, US Naval Reserve Ret. who started his career in 1925, nine years after Captain Duncan, and served through 1945. CAPT McWhirter is Chairman of the Executive Committee of an Indianapolis bank founded by his family and will celebrate his 91st birthday on June 14th, 1977!!!

EVERY MEMBER RECRUIT A MEMBER

OUR GOAL: 2500 MEMBERS BY CONVENTION TIME!!!!

Please give the enclosed membership brochure to a friend. At our present growth rate, our goal can be easily reached with your help.



"If Congress could rehabilitate its own image we could probably then move on to the question of rehabilitating yours," said Senator Gary Hart (D-Colo.) in response to a question in a panel discussion at the January 28th luncheon of Washington area AFIO members.

Some 200 members listened to Hart respond to questions from the panel of Bill Colby, former DCI; Larry Houston, former CIA General Counsel; Col. Steve Hammond, AFIO Vice President; and LTC Bert Cumby, retired Army intelligence officer and Foreign Service official.

Hart, who had served on the Senate intelligence investigating committee chaired by Senator Frank Church, is now a member of the permanent Senate Intelligence Committee chaired by Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii). In a "Meet the Press" type session moderated by Ford Rowan of NBC News, Hart said that legislation concerning protection of sources and methods "is a serious enough problem that we ought to take a look at it. . . . If it is possible to draft legislation which protects sources and methods but at the same time does not encroach upon the right of the American people to know what their government is doing. . . . , how their tax dollars are being spent, and preserve the accountability and responsibility within the various branches of the government, then I think such legislation might be feasible and I would be willing to introduce it and support it."

In response to a question from Colby about current Committee and Senate thinking on covert action, Hart said, he personally agreed with the view expressed by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance that "reservation of that capability is probably necessary" (but) "it should be sharply circumscribed" and "should not be a worldwide capability on standby." Hart said the covert action mission ". . . used only under very limited kinds of circumstances and with clear lines of responsibility and authority on the record" would probably be preserved.

The likelihood of some form of punitive legislation directed at individuals and intelligence agencies was raised in a question by Cumby. Senator Hart said he had "not heard of any suggestion for any legislation that would in effect punish individuals or agencies of the intelligence community for past activities." Hart brought laughter from the audience when he added, "I'm sure that many of you here feel that the establishment of an oversight committee was sufficient punishment."

"The problem of intelligence in our government has been" according to Hart, "a problem which involved the Congress as well as the intelligence community, and if we are looking for recriminations for past errors, I think there is plenty of blame to go around." Hart added that, "One way we can help to rehabilitate your image is to go out, as I have tried to do in my own state and give my honest views of what the intelligence community has done wrong but also what it's done right. Where we have gotten off the track it has involved the President of the United States or his staff, or a failure of Congressional oversight."

Moderator Rowan reminded Senator Hart that he had been on a subcommittee under Church which recommended further investigation of the Kennedy assassination by the new committee. Rowan asked, "Does the new committee have anything ongoing regarding the JFK assassination?" "What can you tell us about it at this time?"

Ending the forty minute quiz, Senator Hart replied, "The answer to the first question is 'Yes' and the answer to the second question is 'Nothing'."

App A Proposed Law To Protect Intelligence Sources And Methods From Unauthorized Disclosure 0001-4

John S. Warner

On February 18, 1976 the President of the United States submitted to the Congress proposed legislation which would attach criminal sanctions for the unauthorized disclosure of intelligence sources and methods. I shall explain below (1) why this law is needed, (2) a brief history of the efforts to secure such a law, and (3) what the proposed legislation does and does not do.

I. Need for Law

For more than a decade the Central Intelligence Agency, recognizing the inadequacy of existing law, has been reviewing the problem and attempting to devise appropriate solutions. The law providing criminal penalties for passage of classified information is found principally in Sections 793 and 794 of Title 18 of the United States Code — commonly known as the Espionage Laws. However, as the name implies, the laws were aimed at punishing espionage and not at unauthorized disclosure of classified information such as publication in the media. As you know there have been tremendous quantities of classified information in the media, but there has never been a successful prosecution, much less an indictment arising out of any of these disclosures.

Now as to what the existing law provides — essentially it is a crime to pass "information affecting the national defense" to an agent of a foreign power with intent to aid that foreign power or to harm the U.S. As you can see, this fits well the classical concept of a spy — i.e., a government employee or military person selling documents to a KGB agent. It doesn't so neatly fit a former government employee or military person writing articles or books or giving classified information to a newspaperman. Their defense that the American people have a right to know inevitably defeats the requirement of the law that there be an intent to aid a foreign power or harm the United States.

There is another very practical aspect in considering prosecution for disclosure under existing law. To assert that the information is classified is not enough. The term "classified" is not used in the law. The statutory language is "information affecting the national defense." Consequently, in a trial the government, in open court, must attempt to convince the jury that the information divulged was within the meaning of the statute. Note — the jury makes the decision and the government's explanation is in open court. Thus, the government is forced to authenticate publicly the accuracy of the divulged information and in the process of trying to persuade the jury must inevitably divulge more classified information in explaining the classified nature of the original disclosure.

While the above is brief, I assure the reader that the U.S. Government and the Intelligence Community have found no remedy in law to punish those who have disclosed classified intelligence. In the interest of brevity, I have not discussed the special laws relating to Communications Intelligence and Atomic Energy matters. While they are a bit tougher, they still have some of the same weaknesses.

II. History of Draft Law

Periodically over the years, CIA has studied the problem of inadequate laws in an effort to seek prosecution of those who disclose classified intelligence to unauthorized persons. There were numerous conferences with the Department of Justice on specific cases. Let me give you an early case. In the late 1950's the Agency was informed by a former employee that he had been to the Russian Embassy in Washington, D.C., and given them, in great detail, classified information affecting several major operational activities. He also advised CIA that the Soviets had requested him to prepare in writing fuller details amplifying his story and asking for more real names. He stated he had expressed concern to the Soviets about accepting too much money at that time (he stated he received several hundred dollars). The Soviets advised him that under the existing law the U.S. Government couldn't touch him — how right they were! After he had done his writing as requested he informed CIA that he had done so and advised when he was going back to the Soviet Embassy. At an all day Sunday meeting with top Justice, FBI, and CIA officials, the full majesty of the U.S. Government concluded that there were no legal steps either to punish what had been done or to prevent what was to happen! To assuage concerned readers, let me add that persistent CIA officers met our culprit on his way to the Soviet Embassy with his written reports and persuaded him to enter voluntarily a hospital for mental observation and no documents were passed. Inadequate laws — indeed!

In the mid-1960's CIA made a determined effort to modify the law so as more appropriately to fit the problem of unauthorized disclosure of classified intelligence information. It drafted a legislative proposal to designate a category of information to be referred to as "Intelligence Data" with criminal penalties for unauthorized disclosure. An *ad hoc* committee of the United States Intelligence Board was established hopefully to secure support from other agencies. Almost immediately, with an exception or two, the departments represented attempted to broaden the concept to deal with all matters of classified information. The unique nature of sensitive intelligence was lost in the process. Eventually the effort collapsed on this basis — i.e., the incompatibility of attempting to deal with the special nature of intelligence versus the far broader area of classified information generally.

It was during this same period that CIA developed a legal concept of civil action to **prevent** unauthorized disclosure of intelligence information as opposed to criminal penalties for **after the fact** of disclosures and the deterrence which might be thus created. These studies eventually were the basis on which CIA moved quickly with the Department of Justice in securing an injunction against Marchetti in 1972 requiring him to submit all material proposed for publication to CIA for review as to whether it contained classified material. This indeed was a landmark decision in the Courts which went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. But I shall not dwell on this case and mention it only because of the injunction provisions of the proposed legislation.

During the latter half of 1973 and 1974 one might wonder how CIA and its lawyers could be still working on the problem of inadequate laws relating to unauthorized disclosure of intelligence information. Well it did and they did. There was a re-focus on the fact that the DCI was by law "responsible for protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure." So, **legislation** was drafted to center on this statutory admonition. It did not deal with broader classification issues — it dealt solely with intelligence sources and methods. Now, the laborious bureaucratic process — it was sent to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for the prescribed Executive Branch coordination. Despite the careful informal consultations prior to this formal procedure, CIA soon ran into serious roadblocks. Many agencies, having this sent to different offices commented as if they didn't really understand. This was sent out for coordination on 14 January 1974. After all other agencies indicated approval or no objection, the Justice Department for one additional year objected both on technical grounds and on the most smothering of all — that it was not needed! Finally, however, on 31 December 1975, Justice formally concurred in the proposal with a number of mutually agreed upon modifications. As mentioned earlier, it was forwarded by the President to the Congress in February 1976.

III. The Legislative Proposal

Now is the time to discuss what the proposed law is about and how it establishes appropriate protective safeguards:

1. The bill makes it a crime punishable by fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment of not more than 5 years, or both, to disclose information relating to intelligence sources and methods.

2. Only government employees, members of the armed services, contractors of the U.S. Government and their employees (and those formerly in such categories) who received the information while in such status are subject to the law. Thus, there must have been a privity of relationship and a position of trust for the law to be operative. Thus, media representatives are excluded.

3. "Information relating to intelligence sources and methods" is defined and is required to be **classified** and to be specifically **designated** by an agency authorized by law or by the President to engage in foreign intelligence activities.

4. To make doubly sure that media representatives and others not in a privity of relationship with the government are not brought in under the general conspiracy statutes, there is specific exclusion. Thus, it is again made clear the law is aimed at those in a position of trust with the government and have thereby received sensitive information. Some media representatives have howled "censorship" but they are simply barking up the wrong tree.

5. There cannot be a prosecution unless:

a. There exists a review procedure within the Government through which a review could be obtained as to the continuing necessity for classification and designation.

(Continued on page 5)

COL Carl F. Eifler, AUS (Ret), AFIO Board Member and Coordinator for AFIO West activities has reported rapid progress in organization throughout the western area of the United States.

In California Lee Echols of Chula Vista has been appointed State Chairman. He, in turn, appointed CDR. Donald W. Perry, USN (Ret) as President Pro-Tem of the San Diego chapter. He and Lee have recruited more than 40 new members recently, holding their first luncheon meeting on 19 November and the second on 21 January, making their Chapter No. 1 in the state.

LTC Charles B. Cushman, AUS (Ret), is the President Pro-Tem in the San Diego area. State Chapter No. 2, their first meeting was held on 15 December. A third chapter is underway in Orange County under Tom Moon; a fourth in Los Angeles with Chris Gugas, Sr, in charge; a fifth in Pasadena guided by COL. G. J. Krause, AUS (Ret) and a sixth in Riverside with Robert H. Flaherty has President Pro-Tem.

Thomas M. Power has been appointed as Chairman for Washington State. In other states, Col. Eifler reports, the job is seeking the person. Candidates are being sought in Alaska, Hawaii, Territory of Guam, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Wyoming, Montana, Utah, Colorado and New Mexico. Volunteers should contact Col. Eifler by writing (Carl F. Eifler, 22700 Picador Drive, Salinas, California 93908) or telephoning (408) 484-1456.

A PROPOSED LAW

(Continued from page 4)

b. The Attorney General and the Director of Central Intelligence jointly certify that the information was lawfully **classified** and lawfully **designated** under the provisions of this law.

6. Further, it would be a valid defense if the information was communicated pursuant to lawful demand to a regularly constituted committee of Congress.

7. Provision is made for a hearing by the court to determine whether the information was lawfully classified and lawfully designated. Any such determination made by the court shall be a question of law and thus not a question of fact which a jury would adjudge. The bill goes on to provide that such a hearing by the court will be *in camera*, i.e., not in public.

8. Finally, the bill establishes a procedure for the Attorney General to secure an injunction whenever the DCI judges a person is about to engage in acts which will constitute a violation of this bill. It is true that CIA secured an injunction against Marchetti but this was only a court ruling in the Fourth Circuit. Therefore, it was thought wise to secure a statutory basis since the other circuits are not bound by a ruling in only one circuit. Illustrative of the bureaucratic difficulties, the Department of Justice resisted this provision very strongly for months before finally approving.

Simply put, the bill would apply criminal sanctions against a person who received intelligence secrets in a position of trust and in violation of his solemn oath, gives these secrets to an unauthorized person. It would also authorize an injunction to prevent such a violation. It cannot reach newspapermen — it is not censorship, not prior restraint, and not violative of the First Amendment. There are some 30 to 40 laws making unauthorized disclosure a crime in such areas as income tax information, census data, cotton statistics, etc. Why not protect by law intelligence sources and methods? Newspapermen assert, and properly so, their right to protect their sources — so, too, do intelligence sources need protection.

IV. Conclusion

This legislation will be re-introduced in the next Congress. I, personally, urge all who are interested in the welfare of the intelligence community to write your Senators and Congressmen explaining the need and requesting their support. Practical advice — learn the number of the bill (H.R. _____, or S. _____) and then write!

SEPTEMBER CONVENTION

Mark Your Calendar
Now — 15th and 16th!



Do you remember when Walter L. Pforzheimer was an Air Force intelligence officer during World War II? Later a senior CIA official — he was the agency's Legislative Counsel for 10 years — Walter is a collector of rare books and owns a fine library on intelligence.

AFIO Author Seeks Help

Joseph E. Persico, a new AFIO member and long-time speech-writer for former Vice President Rockefeller, is writing a book on OSS operations inside Germany and Austria during WW II. The book is being compiled largely through personal interviews and Persico is seeking help in locating some of the following participants: LtCol Joseph Dasher; Gerard de Piolenic; William Grell, possibly Norwalk, CT; Chief, Polish Section, SI Branch, OSS London; Milton Katz, last known at Cambridge, MA; Miles Pavelitch or Pavlovitch, OSS - Bari, Italy; Bernie Steinitz, OSS - Bari, Italy; Thomas Wilson, OSS - London; Lt Anthony Turano and Lt (FNU) Alden, OSS - London; and Capt. Heinz Zacharias, 2677th Regt. OSS.

Persico would also like to hear from AFIO members who have knowledge of those behind-the-lines operations. Send responses to AFIO.

WHERE THE DUES GO

AFIO must relate all costs and plan our budget not in dollars but in Members — that is, how many Members will it take to provide the required funds? We thought you would be interested to see just some of our expenditures portrayed in that manner:

| EXPENDITURE | MEMBERS at \$10.00 |
|---|-----------------------|
| Printing | 650 |
| Rent (Annual rate) | 360 |
| Salaries (1976 Actual) | 339 |
| Postage | 165 |
| Phone | 145 |
| Office furnishings & equipment (One time expense) | 144 |
| Office supplies | 76 |
| Reproduction | 98 |
| Legal | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |

It doesn't take a computer to recognize from this partial list that more than 2,100 Members would be required to maintain status quo if it were not for the generous extra contributions of some of our Members.

ON THE
INTELLIGENCE BOOKSHELF ...Current books
of interest to intelligence buffs and watchers of the world
scene. All reviews are by ARIO members.

THE NIGHT WATCH — 25 Years of Peculiar Service, David Atlee Phillips, Atheneum, New York, 1977. 309 pages. \$9.95.

Members of AFIO will find *The Night Watch* a propitious contribution to the purposes for which they banded together. Dave recounts his career in the Clandestine Service (CS) in a candid and very human biographical memoir with few reservations. He writes with spirit and humor, lacing his text with marvelous anecdotes. Designed as a message for the public-at-large he courts consideration of the use and limits of a secret service. Whatever the reader's intelligence prejudices, he will come to know David Phillips, and to respect him.

His chronology starts in the early '50s when, as a struggling publisher in Chile, he agrees to help the CS. The reader lives with Dave through the vicissitudes of his early training and duties. Upon his return to the States to take up professional lecturing the CS persuades him to participate, full-time, in black psychological warfare aspects of the Guatemalan operation. A broadening knowledge of covert operational techniques excite him and the reader as he reports vividly on a successful covert political action operation, his concern over "brazen intervention" and why it seemed "justifiable." His duties completed, he again foregoes a lecturing career to become a CS staff officer, though, after a deep cover assignment in Havana and a staff assignment in Beirut he resigns to open his own public relations office in Havana. Developments under Castro force him to transfer to New York. Again he is drawn back to the CS, first to participate in the Bay of Pigs operation then in increasingly responsible staff positions, until he retires in 1975 to take up a peculiar form of public relations of which this book is example. As desk and field officer, later Chief of Station and Chief, Western Hemisphere Division, the reader progressively shares with him his exposure to more sophisticated intelligence operations and his widening experiences, though he never quite makes counterespionage (CE) part of himself. Because his abilities win him interesting assignments the reader receives an inside view of the working out of important, often difficult and tense political situations which Dave accents with discerning vignettes of the senior officials he encounters. In counterpoint to the stream of events he sets forth his excitements, disappointments, trials, frustrations, satisfactions and occasional doubts. What could have been prosaic becomes alive because of his candor in expressing his conventions and feelings about the influence and interaction of his duties upon his life.

I believe the book was written to inform and to counterbalance public coverage given CIA activities in the past few years, and, because some believed that Congress and the press, in their intensive and extensive search for infractions of the law, were subtly set upon neutralizing the CS. It is an almost unique account of one man's life as a middle and senior officer in the CS — surely a successful and enviable career as seen by his peers.

In any case, former (and current) intelligence officers are provided a remarkable insight into CS participation in events in which Dave was part. They can applaud or deplore the CS role: An FSO might well see confirmed his view that CS participation in negotiations (as in the Dominican Republic in 1965-66) more appropriately belongs to them: USIA officers may wish their mandate included gray as well as white propaganda (as does the Foreign Office of Great Britain) so that much of the CS's work in this field would fall to them to be done better: CS officers brought up as practitioners of "classic" espionage and CE will say with feeling that Dave's account proves that the CS mandate is too broad, permitting successive Administrations easy recourse to the CS to solve its problems through large and lightly covered operations,

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a few covert political operations, the swath of which has debased the currency of a secret service and made inevitable the crisis in which proper CS activity has come under turbulent and destructive public review.

For the public-at-large an absorbing account of adventure, intrigue and simple humanity should also stir their conscience. Do the circumstances described warrant our government's use, through the CS, of the covert manipulation and power employed? How much, if any, covert activity is acceptable to our open American society? In what circumstances? Can the Nation carry it off? In his book "The Irony of American History" Neibuhr warns against the comfortable position of unequivocal virtue at every step, saying "We take and must continue to take morally hazardous actions to preserve our civilization" or "risk the monstrous consequences of moral complacency." With little rationalizing of the broader issues, the author, a conscientiously honest but committed participant, relates the situations in which these issues arise and how they were dealt with, leaving the reader fair latitude to draw his own conclusions as to whether the Republic has been well served.

CARLETON B. SWIFT, JR.

THE CIA'S SECRET OPERATIONS, Espionage, Counterespionage, and Covert Action, Harry Rositzke, Reader's Digest Press, New York, 1976. 274 pages. \$10.00.

A foreword by Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. is in effect an excellent review of this book for the general public but perhaps a few words are in order for those involved now or in the past in the actual business of intelligence. Like the author, the book is literate, well organized and very well informed on the subject as set forth in the title.

On going back into the early history of CIA, I have a few nitpicks on dates and certain developments but they are very minor and have little or no effect on the main themes of the book so are not worth going into here and certainly do not impair the high degree of accuracy of the account as a whole. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book is educational. I cannot recall as complete and balanced a picture of the functions of the clandestine services with specific case histories to illustrate the aims and how they are carried out. This will be a valuable contribution to countering the James Bond image and some of the other flights of fancy of the authors of thriller novels and purported revelations of former employees who have been tapping the dollar market in this field. It also makes a very persuasive case for the continuation of these functions in a rationally controlled manner. Mr. Rositzke voices what appears to be a growing concern to get the clandestine intelligence operations back on their main target and away from what he calls journalistic reporting but I question whether in the nature of things this is wholly possible. Also he asserts that the secret operations should be separated from the intelligence production function, but often as I have heard this claimed by the clandestine operatives I have never seen a plan for this purpose which I thought was feasible and didn't have more cons than pros. It will remain, however, as a scape-goat created by the bureaucratic frustrations inherent in our system of government even for the most secret operations.

Mr. Rositzke also presents a strong and balanced defense of the Agency generally. He is particularly good in placing the so highly publicized abuses in proper perspective and in describing the nature of and need for counterespionage. Looking to the future he suggests the establishment of a counterintelligence ombudsman to prevent or detect possible abuses or misdeeds. This is not too unlike the system set up by the present Executive Order and to that extent may be useful but he then proposes that such an ombudsman could work under the authority of the Senate Judiciary Committee or of a Joint Committee on Intelligence and to this I would take strong exception on several grounds — the violation of command lines, the separation of powers

(Continued on page 7)

AUTOGRAPHED COPIES OF BOOKS BY AFIO AUTHORS AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS

THE CIA'S SECRET OPERATIONS and THE NIGHT WATCH can be obtained at the bookstore price by AFIO members who wish to have inscribed copies. Send your check made out to AFIO to the Virginia office (\$12.50 for the Rositzke Book and \$9.95 for the Phillips volume). In both cases the publishers have agreed that AFIO may retain the retail profit for its own use. Postage will be paid by AFIO. Please indicate the inscription desired.

Sherman Hoar began speaking out on behalf of AFIO to a small church gathering, but soon found himself on several television stations. More recently, Sherman's views were the subject of a two-part article in the *Martha's Vineyard Grapevine*. That caught the eye of a producer of the David Susskind television show who asked Sherman to suggest someone to confront Norman Mailer on the national talk-show. Harry Rositske handled the chore.

Bill Tidwell and Wally Mills, who have spoken for AFIO frequently, handled new assignments for the National Office in Washington during February. . . Jack Maury has recently written an Op-Ed column for the Washington Post and, in late January, his piece on the nation's defense status filled an entire page of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

Derek Lee, CBE, responded in February to an AFIO commission to address members of the Naval Order of the United States in New York. The one-time British naval officer and member of O.S.S., received a standing ovation from the group of active and retired naval officers. . . In Tallahassee, Florida, Joseph Neville, with a presentation drawn from the AFIO Speakers' Kit, was well received at the Capital Lions Club.

Ed Kray returned to his Florida home from the September convention and submitted the delegate's news release to a local newspaper. That led to a newspaper interview, two speaking engagements and an appearance on a local talk-show. . . Col. Richard Harris, another Floridian, has appeared in Key West for AFIO. Recently he submitted an article on the need for intelligence to the *American Legion Magazine*, and has been advised that it will be printed in an upcoming edition. . . Bob Wood's spritely piece in the *St. Petersburg Times* Sunday Supplement on AFIO's first Florida luncheon resulted in a number of new AFIO members in the area.

The AFIO Library still needs contributions to expand the number of volumes available to members and journalists. For those who wish to review the intelligence operations in the land of Caanan, Mary Rizzotto has donated an expensive, splendid edition of the Bible. And AFIO member Jim Squires has offered an important volume, *The American Black Chamber* by Herbert Yardley, hard to find these days, and a valuable addition.

Too many of our members have been writing letters-to-the-editor on intelligence matters to list here, just as there is not space to name all of our public speakers and their accomplishments. But some deserve special mention: Vince Lockhart made two AFIO appearances in West Virginia on successive days, and received front-page newspaper coverage. And Lee Echols, out in California, clearly merits the reward for most active forensic star in the AFIO stable: Lee often speaks twice a day and travels constantly to meet the demand for his appearances on the podium.

Herb Hudson took his message outside in addressing a group of young campers on Cape Cod. Four of his audience asked how they could go about applying for employment in intelligence! . . . Col. Randall H. Bryant and others meeting in Miami are planning on providing speakers to local universities and requesting that appropriate schools inaugurate courses on intelligence. . . Douglas L. Wheeler, an AFIO member and professor of modern history at the University of New Hampshire, teaches a course on "Espionage in History." Further, Dr. Wheeler was the author of an excellent article on intelligence in *The Christian Science Monitor* in January.

After a speech in Fort Myers, Florida, the text of the presentation by Herman O. Bly was printed in booklet form and widely disseminated and well received. . . In San Antonio, Wendell Little has appeared on the podium for AFIO. And his neighbor and colleague, Board Member and Central AFIO Coordinator Col. George Weinbrenner has been on a veritable tour, giving numerous speeches in the area. Among many other appearances, he was the graduation speaker for the 1976 Class in Advanced Aerospace Medicine for Allied Medical Officers at Brooks Air Force Base. . . Ben Racusin, in South Carolina, was interviewed by two Savannah television stations after his speech to the local Rotary Club.

THE CIA'S SECRET OPERATIONS

(Continued from page 6)

under the Constitution, and the basic weakness of the Congressional structure in handling such a function.

Aside from a few such differences which are inevitable in a work of this scope, the book is not only most instructive but also propounds any number of questions which are well worth serious consideration. It is therefore a very useful volume and, what I like best about it, it is balanced.

LAWRENCE HOUSTON

AFIO LIFE MEMBER HONOR ROLL



Bill and Anita Potocki are the very first couple to take out Life Membership. Both have been active AFIO supporters from the very beginning.

In our last issue we announced the availability of Life Membership for AFIO members. We are pleased to announce in this issue the names of the first group who have contributed so generously to support AFIO programs. Three members who have contributed for Life Membership have requested that they not be listed in any of our publications so we unfortunately cannot honor them here.

The Board agreed at its December meeting to honor Life Members with recognition in PERISCOPE, separate listing in future directories, certificates suitable for framing, distinctive membership cards and listing on a plaque to be maintained in the AFIO office. In addition, the Board may establish other forms of recognition in the future.

Lt Col John W. Barton USAF Ret.
Youngstown, Arizona

Mr. Herbert F. Morgenroth
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Al G. Bembry
Ellenton, Florida

Mrs. Bethyl F. Nalbandian
Inglewood, California

Lt Col William W. Buhl
Syracuse, New York

LTC John F. Oster AUS Ret.
Balboa Heights, Canal Zone

Mr. George H. W. Bush
Houston, Texas

Ms. Ethel Pearson
Washington, D.C.

Maj Gen Arthur Clark USAFR
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. David Atlee Phillips
Bethesda, Maryland

LTC John J. Coakley AUS Ret.
Fairfax, Virginia

Lt Col John S. Pletcher USAF Ret.
Lakeland, Florida

Mr. Curtis Carroll Davis
Baltimore, Maryland

Mrs. Anita Potocki
Arlington, Virginia

COL Carl F. Eifler AUS Ret.
Salinas, California

Mr. William F. Potocki
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. Paul H. Gale
Sarasota, Florida

Miss Mary Rizzotto
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Vernet L. Gresham
Lafayette, Louisiana

LTC Oscar H. Stroh USAR Ret.
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Mr. Daniel G. Jackson
Bethesda, Maryland

LTC Charles E. Visconti USAR
Long Valley, New Jersey

COL Dale M. King USA Ret.
West Palm Beach, Florida

Mr. John S. Warner
Falls Church, Virginia

Mr. David H. Kipnis
Phoenix, Arizona

Col George R. Weinbrenner USAF Ret.
San Antonio, Texas

Mr. Derek A. Lee
New York, New York

LTC Woodrow Terry, AUS Ret.
Cherokee, Iowa

FROM THE DESK OF DAVE PHILLIPS. . .

Philip Agee and the President of Mexico

In London, the recent order to deport Philip Agee, the turncoat ex-CIA officer, caused a commotion. The Home Secretary, Mr. Merlyn Rees, announced that Agee "had maintained regular contacts harmful to the security of the United Kingdom with foreign intelligence officers; had been and continued to be involved in disseminating information harmful to the security of the United Kingdom. . . ." Agee immediately protested that the CIA had pressured British authorities into expelling him.

Yet, in early 1975 during a BBC television appearance with me, Agee chose to absolve his hosts from any such charge. We were debating Soviet intelligence operations in Latin America when I remarked that more than 80 Russian diplomats had been ousted from a dozen countries in that area. Predictably, Agee argued that the expulsions in question were not prompted by any wrongdoing, but, as usual, by CIA pressure on the governments concerned. I reminded him that the British government had expelled 105 Soviets not long ago. After an uneasy glance at the television camera and its audience of several million Britons, Agee allowed that HMG's action had been inspired by evidence from its own quite capable intelligence agencies rather than CIA machinations.

Agee's about-face may have appeared, on the surface, a trifle capricious to the British. But, those of us who have followed his second career in covert action (i.e., since the CIA forced him to resign in 1968) know whatever Agee does is calculated and "depends", as good ole Southern boys say, "on whose ox is gettin' gored."

Occasionally though, Agee does miscalculate and find himself in a melee walloping the wrong ox. A classic case involved the recent President of Mexico, Luis Echeverria.

This embarrassing episode started in 1974 when Agee brought out his book of "revelations" on the CIA. He named 250 persons alleged to be CIA officers, agents, or collaborators, including in the latter category then-President Echeverria.

Agee subsequently excoriated Echeverria in a London press conference he organized in October 1974. He identified 37 persons he claimed were active CIA agents in Mexico, intimating they were there on sufferance of Echeverria. He accused the Mexican government of censorship inasmuch as the local newspapers had failed to air his earlier indictment of Echeverria. On that note, the story was picked up and headlined by the Mexican press.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the renowned Colombian author, interviewed Agee some weeks later. Agee denounced Echeverria as a CIA lackey, and Garcia Marquez' article that followed in early December put the accusation back in Mexico's headline.

In mid-December, a peeved Echeverria asked security advisors what they knew about Agee, particularly his motives for trying to provoke a *cause celebre* in Mexico. He learned that Agee's book carried an acknowledgement and thanks to "the representatives of the Communist



Party of Cuba (who) also gave me important encouragement at a time when I doubted that I would be able to find the additional information I needed."

By this time the Communist Party of Cuba may well have been encouraging Agee, but it was also withholding badly needed information from him. To wit, Echeverria was in the throes of planning a state visit to Cuba to bestow a Mexican benediction upon Castro and the Cuban revolution.

What followed was a flurry of quiet but significant contacts by the players in this little drama. On December 18, the Secretary General of the Cuban Communist Party, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, arrived unexpectedly and unannounced in Mexico City. A high-ranking officer of the Cuban Intelligence Service accompanied him. They stayed for one day and then returned to Havana.

I cannot reveal classified information concerning Agee's contacts with Cuban intelligence operatives which I learned while still employed by CIA. On the record, however, is Agee's response to columnist Jack Anderson shortly after the Cuban officials returned to Havana from Mexico City: Agee admitted that he had seen Cuban diplomats frequently in Paris and London, adding, "Whether they were Cuban intelligence officers or not, I don't really care."

In any event Agee traveled promptly to Spain to confer with Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

On January 4, 1975 — less than three weeks after the President of Mexico had first learned about Agee's Cuban connection — Mexico City's leading newspaper, *Excelsior*, printed separate letters from Agee and Garcia Marquez. Both were masterpieces of retreat. Agee retracted his earlier charges about the nature of Echeverria's collaboration with the CIA, dismissing it as routine liaison. He said, "I want to make it clear that. . . the head of CIA in Mexico in 1970 suddenly left the country when its present president came to power. I take his departure as evidence of a break between the CIA and the present president. . . ." Sheer nonsense. The CIA chief in Mexico had been evacuated for none other than medical reasons, and Agee knew it.

But at least Agee had the oxen sorted out properly by that time, and a mollified President Echeverria could return to laying on his Cuban visit which transpired in August, 1975.

Whether Philip Agee is a paid agent of the Cuban Intelligence Service — a surrogate of the Soviet KGB — is almost beside the point. By definition, his role has been that of an "agent of influence" responsive to Cuban control. He has made five huggermugger expeditions to Havana of which I am aware. His declared mission has been to dismantle the CIA "by identification, exposure and neutralization of its people abroad. . ." The degree of his effort in this aspect which might have made him at least indirectly responsible for the assassination of Richard Welch, the CIA chief in Athens, has been the subject of debate. At the time Agee, unabashed, shrugged off the Welch tragedy, and others yet to come, as the breaks of the intelligence game. As late as January 9, Agee told the *London Observer* that he was being deported because the British government believed him responsible for the death of two British agents in Poland. Characteristically, Agee branded that allegation a CIA fabrication.

For good reason I suppose, Agee is extremely wary about returning to the U.S. Some months ago, he promised me that, should he do so, he would accept my challenge to a series of public debates. I have a great deal to discuss with him, and I hope he comes back.

WASHINGTON AREA MONTHLY LUNCH

AFIO members in the Washington area (and those visiting) are invited to an informal lunch on the final Tuesday of each month. Call 790-0320 for details of location and time. Spouses and guests are welcome.

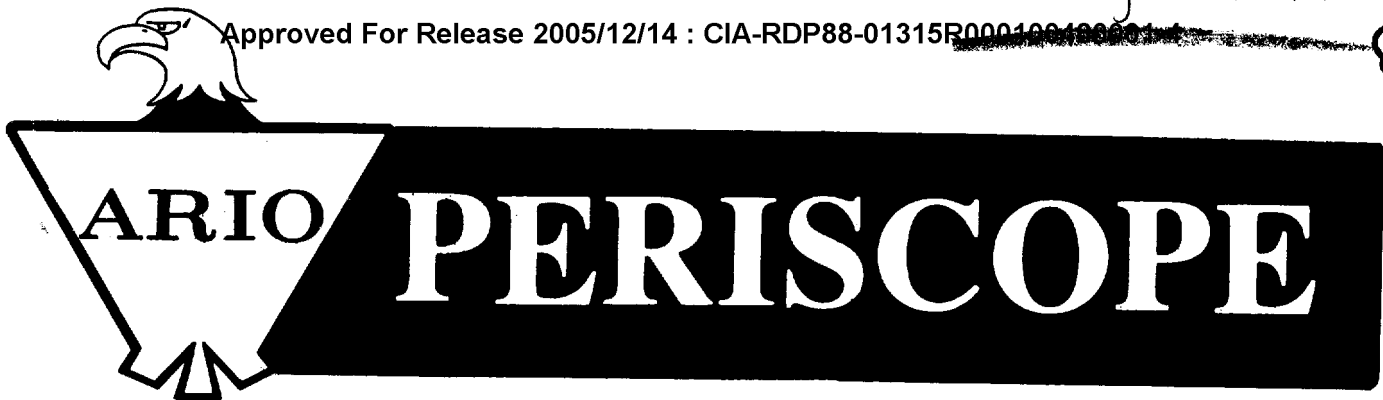
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Asst. Editor: Pat Sringham
Art Editor: Don Hester

IN MEMORIAM

James Todorovic died in Walnut Creek, California, on 6 September, 1976.
Claude Constable, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on 1 October, 1976.
William T. Clark, Scottsdale, Arizona, on 6 October, 1976.
CAPT. Francis A. (Frank) Klaveness, USN Ret. of Alexandria, Virginia, on 8 January, 1977, in Rio de Janeiro.
William G. Tharp, San Mateo, California, in November, 1976.
Dr. Robert H. Esser, McLean, Virginia, on 19 January, 1977.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. II, NO. 4, CONVENTION ISSUE 1976

In Reston, Virginia...

A SUCCESSFUL SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION!

A galaxy of government and top intelligence community officials greeted the 250 ARIO members who met in their second national convention at Reston, Virginia on September 16 and 17 and told them, in the words of a message from President Gerald Ford, that "The United States cannot afford anything but the very best intelligence if we wish to preserve peace and freedom....I welcome," the President went on, "this opportunity...to express my deep appreciation to all of those who have served our country and have provided the critical information that the President must have in discharging his responsibilities."

President Ford's message, reproduced in full on this page, was delivered for him by White House Counsellor John O. Marsh, Jr. at the final banquet of ARIO's second national convention, a gathering which confirmed that the organization has firmly established itself in the eyes of government, Congress and press as an authoritative and credible public spokesman for the intelligence function in our society. As LTG Samuel V. Wilson, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, put it in a rousing speech at Friday's luncheon, "You are, collectively, an important voice today. One of these days I hope to join you and together we will go on shouting out what America must continue to hear. In the meantime, you have my utter respect for the contributions you have made in your lifetimes and continue to make today."

General Wilson received a standing ovation that shook the walls as he reaffirmed his conviction that America could and would retain its place in the world and live up to its ideals "and will stay that way until Americans choose otherwise — and nobody wants to consciously make a choice like that."

A similarly encouraging message came from the man who, above all others, has his fingers on the pulse of the intelligence community and its standing in the government and Congress. DCI George Bush addressed the Thursday lunch meeting of the convention and delivered the hopeful message that Congress, before which he has testified no fewer than 37 times in eight months, is beginning to see its job as that of

strengthening the U.S.'s intelligence rather than "ferreting out corruption." He added the cheering news that CIA recruitment is up much higher this year in both quantity and quality and added the finding that in the course of his distinguished career in politics and diplomacy he has "never been associated with more selfless dedication and at the same time more quality than I am at this time as DCI."

The press agreed with these distinguished gentlemen that the ARIO convention was an important event. No fewer than fourteen micro-

(Continued on page 2)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1976

These past two years have been a time of testing for the American Intelligence Community.

Throughout this period I have made my position clear: The United States cannot afford anything but the very best intelligence if we wish to preserve peace and freedom. I have known many dedicated and capable American intelligence officers. They are a credit to our country. They serve quietly, without public acclaim, and their achievements are often never known to the American people.

I welcome this opportunity of this Second National Convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers to express my deep appreciation to all of those who have served our country and who have provided the critical information that the President must have in discharging his responsibilities.

Gerald R. Ford

AN IMPORTANT QUESTIONNAIRE

With this PERISCOPE you will find a questionnaire. Participate in the two vital decisions soon to be made by ARIO. Please return by 5 December.



Left, Chairman of the Board Lyman B. Kirkpatrick listens to the panel on intelligence and the media. The two newsmen behind him are from *Editor & Publisher* and *TIME*. Right, the panel: Walter Pincus, LTG Danny Graham, Bill Colby and Charles Bartlett (Moderator Erwin Griswold is hidden by Pincus).

(Continued from page 1)

phones were fastened to the podium when George Bush spoke. All the major TV networks were represented and national coverage was accorded to the Bush speech on the evening news with an excellent shot of the ARIO emblem. (See photomontage, page 6.) The news agencies and a number of domestic and foreign newspapers sent reporters. This coverage, much greater than last year's, confirms that ARIO is a known and respected organization involved with one of the major continuing public issues of our times.

Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department of State and often described as "the right hand" of Secretary Kissinger, provided the delegates with an informal insight on the role of intelligence in foreign policy decision making. Sonnenfeldt, who cancelled another engagement to appear at the ARIO convention, asked that his remarks be "off the record" so he could be candid with this "knowledgeable group." Needless to say, the questions were sharp and the responses informative.

The convention not only listened to a number of interesting speeches but also transacted important business at the annual membership meeting. Most important was the election of four new members of the Board of Governors: William E. Colby, LTG Daniel O. Graham, USA Ret., Helen Priest Deck and Col. George R. Weinbrenner, USAF, Ret. The election brings to 14 the total membership of our governing body. (See biographies of members, next issue.) Under the gavel of Lyman Kirkpatrick, Chairman of the Board of Governors, the membership meeting approved the amended by-laws, concurred in the appointment of a committee to explore the question of adopting a new name for the organization and of another committee to nail down finally the legal

aspects of maintaining a tax free status while attempting to influence Congressional actions on intelligence matters. A number of committee reports were submitted which will provide a source of program activity and membership and other policies in the year to come.

An intellectual highlight of the gathering came in a seminar on the provocative subject of "Good Secrets, Bad Secrets and Non-secrets," chaired by Dean Erwin N. Griswold, former Solicitor General and former Dean of Harvard Law School. Participants were William E. Colby, LTG Daniel O. Graham, Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post* and Charles Bartlett, syndicated columnist. Although the discussion produced no agreement on the tortured subject of what should be kept secret and how it should be done, it produced excellent statements of opposing points of view. Pincus, on the one hand, maintained that keeping its secrets is the government's internal problem and that anything the press obtains and considers news is fair game. General Graham on the other hand, felt that the Espionage Act should be enforced to the hilt against newspapers that publish classified information. In between were Colby and Bartlett, both of whom felt the laws needed strengthening but that the focus must be on the government employees who violate their oaths and pass information to unauthorized parties.

Like all other good conventions, this one was also a grand reunion of old buddies who swapped tall stories and lifted their glasses more than once to toast old times, old friends or just because they were thirsty. A few hardy souls got out of bed early to play in the golf and tennis tournaments on Friday a.m. (For the results see page 8.) As the last stragglers made their way out of the hospitality room at 3 a.m. on Saturday morning many were heard to pledge that they would meet again at the next convention — and we can all drink to that!

DCI Bush Optimistic And Confident The Patient Will Survive

George Bush, the latest distinguished American to sit at the bulls-eye on the Seventh Floor of Langley Headquarters, told the assembled ARIO conventioners that "CIA has weathered the storm" of congressional and press investigation that swirled about the agency for the last two years. As evidence for this conclusion Bush cited a changed attitude in Congress where, he said, "the mood has changed. No one is campaigning against strong intelligence. The adversary thing, how we can ferret out corruption, has given way to the more serious question of how we can have better intelligence."

As another sign of change, the DCI reported an improvement in the reception that CIA recruiters have on college campuses. Recruitment is up both in quality and quantity, he stated. "Young people nowadays are proud to accept the challenge of serving their country in intelligence."

According to the DCI, a thorough reorganization has improved the internal workings of the intelligence community and of CIA. To implement the President's Executive Order, which decreed greater centralized management and budgeting for the community, the DCI now has two equal deputies. One, Hank Knoche, attends to the day to day management of CIA. The other, VADM Daniel Murphy, is responsible for the co-ordinating of the intelligence community. According to the DCI, Admiral Murphy is "tenacious and working hard to implement the President's Order in letter and in spirit." Backing him up is the high-level Committee on Foreign Intelligence, set up by the President's Order, in making budgetary decisions for all the components of the community, regardless of which department of government they are in. This system now gives far better control to the managers whose job is to handle America's intelligence effort as a single, unified program.

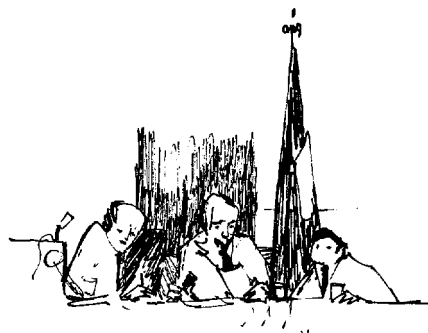
Mr. Bush did not gloss over the fact that numerous problems remain to be solved. There has been a definite diminution, he said, in the extent of the co-operation of certain friendly foreign intelligence services. The publicity that has exposed numerous sensitive operations is largely responsible for this result — but that situation is also improving with time.

Since he was sworn in to his new job early in the year, Mr. Bush has been obliged to make 37 formal appearances before Congressional committees — not including numerous informal appearances. To reduce the obvious duplication, the DCI expressed the hope that the new Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee will lead to a consolidation of committees and consequently a better quality of oversight.

The security of the congressional oversight system remains a problem in Mr. Bush's view, but here, too, the situation is improving, largely as a result of the responsibility and seriousness of Senator Inouye's new oversight committee. Mr. Bush said that he doesn't feel that leaks of classified data from the Congress are inevitable but he weighs the risks himself before passing on such information. If he knows a Congressman plans to make information public, he would feel obligated not to give it.

On the complex problem of covert action, Mr. Bush said that the law is now very specific. The highest levels of the government are involved in the approval process through the Intelligence Advisory Committee. To make this system work, a good deal of trust and prudence are required. According to the DCI, the country needs a covert action capability and hopes that the new procedure will succeed.

Director Bush brought forth sustained applause when he assured the convention that in his entire career he has "never been associated with more selfless dedication and at the same time with more quality than I am at CIA."



Ted Mackechnie

Counsellor John Marsh

President Ford's Counsellor John O. Marsh told the final banquet of the ARIO convention — after delivering the President's message reproduced elsewhere — that our organization "has a unique opportunity":

"You can help achieve a better public understanding of the role of the intelligence service in our national defense."

"You can present to your elected representatives views on pending legislation that relate to the operation of the intelligence community."

Counsellor Marsh also called attention to President Ford's executive orders tightening up approval procedures and executive oversight of intelligence operations. "For the first time," he noted, "he spelled out the charters of the components of the community. His Executive Order also defined and designated certain responsibilities. There was some restructuring of the intelligence community together with provisions for Executive oversight including the newly created Intelligence Oversight Board.

"His purpose," Marsh went on, "was not only to strengthen the intelligence community, but to specify safeguards against abuses. This has restored public confidence in our very excellent agencies."

Mr. Marsh also had some kind words for one of ARIO's newest members. "At this point," he said, "let me mention to you the tremendous contributions that were made by the former Director of the CIA, William Colby. In a situation in which the principal thrust was impacting on his agency, Bill Colby met the highest standards of public service. I know the President would want me to thank him here tonight in the presence of his colleagues."

Giving a speech on intelligence to the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, a group which includes not only yesterday's respected peers but also some of my former superiors is not an easy task. And when one adds the requirement to keep these remarks unclassified, the difficulty is considerably compounded.

In essence, our job in the next few months is to emerge from this crisis in intelligence with a workable institution without undergoing irreparable damage in the process.

I am certain that no one in this room doubts the need for America to have a strong intelligence service. Some few in our country apparently do doubt it. Others say they believe in one, but they would so expose and unwittingly hamstring it that it could not operate effectively. Still others, who favor an effective intelligence service, question whether our service is properly controlled and properly focused. We must listen carefully to the voices of the latter.....

The revelation of true intelligence secrets makes exciting reading in the morning paper. It is soon forgotten by most readers, but not by our adversaries. Enormously complex and expensive technical intelligence collection systems can be countered. Need I remind this particular audience, that dedicated and courageous men and women who risk their lives to help America can be exposed and destroyed? I don't think the American people want this to happen; especially when our adversaries, dedicated to the proposition that we eventually must be defeated, are hard at work. But Americans must understand or they will inadvertently cause this to happen.....

We know the truth of the cliché "victory has a thousand fathers, defeat is an orphan." And our version: "our defeats and mistakes are trumpeted; our successes pass unnoticed and unknown."

Somehow, though, Americans have got to come to realize that America has good intelligence—the best in the world. It is time for them to know our country is safe from a sneak attack. It is time for them to know our country is getting a bargain for its intelligence buck. It is time for them to know the American intelligence record is studded with success after success.

It is time for them to know:

- That American intelligence spotted the Soviet nuclear missiles being delivered to Cuba in 1962 and supported the President as he worked through 13 nightmarish days to force their removal;

- That American intelligence gave seven years warning on the development of the Moscow anti-ballistic missile system;

- That American intelligence pinpointed eight new Soviet inter-continental ballistic missiles and evaluated the development of each three or more years before it became operational;

- That two major new Soviet submarine programs were anticipated well before the first boats slid down the ways;

- That we knew the status and design of two Soviet aircraft carriers well before the front one put to sea for sea trials.

- That American intelligence successfully monitors and predicts trends in oil prices and tracks the flow of petro dollars. That these things impinge on their pocketbook and on their everyday life.

- That American intelligence each year turns to the key task of assessing world crop prospects, which has to do with the price of the market basket we all must buy, with the world food problem.

- That American intelligence monitors compliance with the strategic arms limitation agreements. We do not have to estimate. We do not have to guess. We know whether our possible adversaries are keeping these agreements—that this is a new job for intelligence: keeping the peace and restraining the arms race.

- They have to know that the bold technical thinkers; the courageous people on hazardous duty in strange lands; the gifted analysts puzzling out mysterious political and military moves made by unpredictable people in far and closed societies are more than craftsmen—they are dedicated, talented artists.

Intelligence is more than a craft. It is more than a science. It is indeed an art. We do not have a crystal ball, and we can't yet provide a copy of the 1980 World Almanac. And we may not predict the given hour of a particular coup or revolution—any more than a weatherman can make a flat prediction that it will start raining at precisely 0920 hours tomorrow. We can't tell what God is going to do on Tuesday of next week, especially when he hasn't made up his mind. But we probably can tell when he's getting mad. You and I know all of this—but the American people don't—and they are confused. They don't realize our primary function is to provide the leadership of this nation with the deepest possible understanding of the military, political, social, and economic climate of countries that affect vital American interests. Our mission is to see that our leaders know about what may happen in the world beyond our borders and about the forces and factors at work there. The American taxpayer should know we do this job well, despite our problems.

In fact, when people see a statue of Nathan Hale—like the one in front on the CIA Headquarters building at Langley, Virginia, they recall his voice from the past. But they don't go beyond his words enough to take a close look at him. For that shows his hands are tied behind him and his legs are bound with a rope, just as he was bound before the Redcoats hung him for attempting to steal their secrets.

They, not fully understanding, accept that state as the way it should be. Somehow we have got to secure their support to help us get the ropes off of Nathan Hale. Failure to do that would be to neglect the voices from our past, to jeopardize our freedom, and to endanger our tricontinental.

The Soviets seem to believe their own propaganda that we are disintegrating as a society but they worry about what we may do in our death throes. At the same time, they will not hesitate to do whatever they can discreetly to hasten our demise. Their strategy is to press us politically, economically, psychologically wherever we are weak and where the risks are slight, particularly in the low-intensity conflict arena in the underdeveloped world; to bleed us and to embarrass us, while striving for across-the-board military superiority, especially in strategic weapons systems—in other words, a form of nuclear blackmail.

My good friends, I know many of you personally—have worked with you and for some of you—know your great abilities and your dedication. You are, collectively, an important voice today. One of these days I hope to join you and together we will go on saying what America must continue to hear. In the meantime, you have my total respect for the contributions you have made in your lifetimes and continue to make today. In recognition, I block my heels and give you my snappiest and proudest salute. Thank you.

Statement By Policy And Plans Committee

The past year has seen ARIO grow from a small cadre of initial founders and a convention a year ago to a membership of over 1200 persons from all sectors of the intelligence community.

The policy of ARIO announced last year was "The purpose of ARIO is to promote informed public understanding of our country's need for timely and accurate intelligence and to foster in the public a full appreciation of the role of intelligence and counter-intelligence." We believe this policy has proved to be sound. During the past year ARIO has, through the efforts of its members, achieved recognition for its integrity and capability in presenting to the public the importance of intelligence to the nation. ARIO has established credibility and respect.

In the coming year ARIO will continue on its charted course with even added emphasis on informing the public of the issues facing the intelligence community. Our purpose remains the same—to keep the public informed.

ARIO will continue to provide, as appropriate, suggestions and advice to the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government on matters affecting the Intelligence Community. Increased attention will be given to ARIO efforts in the educational field.

Deliberations And Decisions — Convention Proposals And ARIO Prospects

Four distinguished new members of the ARIO Board of Governors were elected at the Reston Convention among other important association business transacted.

The new board members were: former DCI **William E. Colby**, former Director of DIA LTG **Daniel O. Graham**, **Helen Priest Deck** who was the prime mover in the formation of our first formal chapter in New England; and Col. **George R. Weimbrenner**, USAF (Ret.), who has been our most active and energetic member in the Southwest. (For biographies of the new and old members of the Board of Governors see the next issue of *PERISCOPE*).

Under the leadership of **Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr.**, Chairman of the Board and former Executive Director of CIA, the ARIO Board of Governors and its officers have been consulting the membership for opinions concerning ARIO's future plans. With the benefit of the collective views of Convention delegates, Chairman Kirkpatrick took the following steps:

Instructed the President to appoint a committee to organize the next annual convention and report recommendations on the question of whether to hold it at a site outside the Washington area;

Approved the suggestion that ARIO issue an annual award to the American who has done most to advance the purposes for which ARIO was founded;

Agreed to appoint three regional co-ordinators to act as channels between the headquarters and the membership. (Details on this decision appear elsewhere in *Periscope*.)

The membership meetings held during the course of the convention also got through a respectable amount of business. At one session the Constitution and By-laws as amended were read and adopted. Most discussion focussed on whether or not we should bar ourselves from attempting to influence legislation in order to maintain our tax-exempt status. This tangled question was temporarily set aside in order to get the Constitution and By-laws on the books. But a motion was carried asking the President to appoint a committee to study the legal questions involved and make recommendations. At present, the by-laws prevent us from attempting to "influence legislation" but if the committee of experts recommends a change, the membership will be polled by mail on the proposed amendments.

Another vote approved the appointment of a committee to look into the pros and cons of changing our name to eliminate the troublesome word "retired." If it decides to recommend such a change, the proposed alternatives will be submitted to the membership.

On Thursday afternoon and Friday morning the conventioners broke up into eight separate committees which accomplished the following:

The Policy and Plans Committee reported that since last year at this time ARIO has forged toward its goal, achieving recognition for integrity and capability in presenting its case and establishing credibility and respect. "In the coming year ARIO will continue on its charted course...Our purpose remains the same — to keep the public informed. ARIO will continue to provide, as appropriate, suggestions and advice to the executive and legislative branches of the government

on legislation affecting the intelligence community. Added emphasis will be given to its efforts in the educational field."

The Academic Planning Committee drafted a sample letter to a university suggesting a course of study on intelligence and offering ARIO's assistance in setting it up.

The Chapter Organization Committee recommended that three geographical regions be set up, each headed by an officer to "provide a communications link between local chapters and the Washington Headquarters." As reported elsewhere in this issue, the recommendation was acted upon immediately.

The Convention Operations Committee recommended that the next ARIO convention be held outside of the Washington area and that a committee be appointed to explore the feasibility of this proposal.

The Committee on Constitution and By-laws revised and tightened these basic documents and submitted them to the membership which approved them in toto.

The Membership Expansion Committee made a number of recommendations of which the most important were: appoint membership chairmen to each new chapter or regional organization as it is formed; explore the possibility of inserting an ARIO membership application into the retirement packet of retiring intelligence personnel; encourage each active member to recruit at least one new member per year.

The Membership Services Committee recommended against providing any commercial services to members at this time; it proposed the revision of the membership directory to make it more useable to members and suggested the maintenance of an employment clearing house at the ARIO headquarters simply to facilitate the answering of employment enquiries. Another suggestion was that members notify headquarters of the death of any member so that a condolence card can be sent and a notice entered in *Periscope*.

The Publications and Media Committee recommended against the creation of a serious quarterly journal to be published by ARIO at this time but proposed that a committee be appointed to explore the idea. It recommended that *Periscope* be maintained as the principal publication of the association, increased in size and frequency as funds permit.

The Fund Raising Committee met and deliberated but reached no conclusions.

Joe Burke, a new member and former Special Agent with the FBI, spoke to the delegates about ways in which ARIO and the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI could cooperate. Recognizing that ARIO is the only organization which can claim to represent the entire intelligence community, the delegates recommended that ARIO officials look into means of cooperation. Since the convention, a preliminary meeting has been held with the FBI group and the manner in which we could cooperate is to be the subject of formal discussions by the executive board of the FBI group at their October convention.

ARIO'S PRESENT COURSE: SUMMARY OF PRE-CONVENTION SURVEY

In mid-1976 ARIO sent all members a questionnaire asking their opinions on ARIO's present course — "too aggressive, too passive or just about right." We also asked for comments on the present organization and for suggestions for its future course.

The majority who responded said the present course was "about right," but a number qualified their approval with additional comments. Some disapproved "our consorting too much with the Media — the nemesis of intelligence"... "a tendency to accommodate those in high position, many of whom were part of the original problem." Others disliked our "Not hitting back hard enough"... "Our need to limit ARIO efforts to advisory or informative levels in a critical struggle"... "The defensive rather than positive and aggressive response to our attackers."

Corrective suggestions included placing a priority on "an active and strong legislative committee"... "Greater efforts to get materials into schools to stem the flow of one-sided information currently prevalent there." One member recommended arming members with "clarifying and justifying back-up information for use in defending potentially misunderstood or controversial public statements made in the name of ARIO."

More aggressive tactics proposed: "Jump in and give the FBI some strong support." "Join with American Security Council to fight CBS."

On the positive side members liked *Periscope*; appreciated the unbiased information ARIO made available; approved the establishment of our McLean office (which one respondent hoped would alleviate the past lack of response to, or acknowledgement of, communications); and they felt that ARIO has "put it all together." One person said that America needs ARIO, and another seconded ARIO's efforts to "dam the flood of leaks." The "broad membership" policy was endorsed.

All in all, the thoughtfully prepared responses, while somewhat disappointing in quantity, made up in quality for the lack of volume. One in particular struck a responsive chord and is worth quoting in its entirety:

"It (ARIO) is bringing we retired officers in out of the cold, so we can meet our former coworkers and collectively work to improve our image in the public eye as well as, hopefully, improve conditions for those who follow in our footsteps." (Emphasis added.)



Some Work, Some Relaxation And

SNAPSHOTS FROM ARIO'S SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION: Top, center, DCI George Bush addresses the Friday luncheon. Counter-clock-wise from the Director: Tommy Lee Watson, with Bill Hood not far behind....O.S.S. veterans Jim Ward and COL Carl Eifler, the latter a member of the ARIO Board of Governors and West Regional Coordinator, share a serious conversation with ARIO Vice President Col. Steve Hammond....Former O.S.S. and CIA officer Curtis Carroll Davis and Mrs. Davis....Don Huefner is listening to Sam Halpern, but seems skeptical about what Sam is saying....ARIO President Dave Phillips and Gina find something very amusing in their conversation with ARIO Treasurer Lou Napoli. Why are the two men who sign and counter-sign ARIO checks laughing with such glee?

MIDDLE PANEL, left to right: California delegate Lee Echols didn't miss a trick at the ARIO Convention, and managed to sell a number of copies of his book, *Dead Aim*....Marian Sulc poses prettily with her husband Larry, ARIO's man-on-the-Hill and East Coordinator....John Muldoon stares sternly at the cameraman—seems he should have grinned, having persuaded George



A Fine Reunion Of Former Colleagues

King to donate his time for Convention photography. Col. Gil Layton looks the other way....but toward Margaret Ruddock, one of a number of delegates who flew all the way from California.

ON THE RIGHT, clockwise from DCI Bush: ARIO Board of Governors member and Central Regional Coordinator Col. George Weinbrenner stands to raise a point-of-order....Near the flag, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, the Counselor of the Department of State, discusses intelligence and foreign policy as presiding officer Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. ponders. (Mrs. Kirkpatrick, a former intelligence officer and ARIO member, also attended the Convention)....Major Al Wright, glass in hand, listens with Board of Governor's member Jim Flannery as ARIO's Executive Director and Convention Manager Jack Coakley makes a point....CWO John Smith and Mrs. Smith drove up from Richmond, as John has for all Washington area meetings....Major Lou Taylor, one of several delegates from South Carolina. That's not Kojak standing next to him, but COL Bob Roth who joined ARIO at the Convention after coming along to take a look. Flannery, Bill McTigue, formerly with DIA.





ARIO Champs—Ed Buchanan, runner-up and Earl Sears, tennis winner; on the right, Jim Kim, low gross in golf (low net winner John Warner was busy elsewhere when the picture was snapped). Far right, PERISCOPE's Pat Stringham manages to talk on two telephones with a pencil clenched in her teeth!

LIVE FROM THE "GO-TO-H-ROOM... Pat Stringham Reports From The Nerve Center

Aka as "The Press Room, The War Room, The Phone Booth," and, in fact Room "H" of the Sheraton Reston Convention Center.

"ARIO, may I help you?" And Oh Rogues, did we ever try!

"Where are the Committee Assignment Lists?" . . . "Dave is bringing them." . . . "Where's Dave?" . . . "He's on his way."

"ARIO, may I help you?" . . . "Oh, yes, Jean White of the *Washington Post*" . . . "Mr. Phillips is in a Board Meeting at the moment. May I have him call you as soon as he is free or may I refer you to Mr. Hayden Estey, our Media Representative?" . . . "Where's Hayden?" . . . "Ms. White we are calling Mr. Estey. Perhaps I can help you?" . . . "The schedule? Of course, I would be happy to." . . . "Yes, Mr. George Bush is addressing the Keynote Luncheon. Then at 1515 hours a discussion on the subject of 'Good Secrets, Bad Secrets and Non-secrets with Dr. Erwin Griswold as Moderator is scheduled.'" . . . "The panelists? Mr. William E. Colby, LTG (Ret) Daniel Graham, Mr. Walter Pincus and Charles Bartlett . . . Ah, Mr. Estey is here, Ms. White."

"ARIO, may I help you?"

All this time the two phones in Room H have been either in use or ringing. A TASS correspondent wants some information on the Convention. Philadelphia is calling for a "live-interview." We find the "live" ARIO member and muffle the other noise.

Anybody who moves is drafted for some task . . . "Al (Wright) you take charge of the ARIO Shield. Move it in to whatever room we are currently using." . . . "We need Scotch Tape. Will someone go buy some at the 'Store' . . . 'The pencils are all broken, Gina, see if you can find a pencil sharpener?'" . . .

We're an information booth, too. Barbara Storer forgot to pack a lipstick so we send her off to the "Little Store" at the end of the hall . . . Herb Hudson has lost his name tag and needs another one. His original is later seen on Grace Covault's big toe. (No time now for an explanation of *this* one!)

"Who worked the Crossword Puzzle in *Green* ink?" . . . "I, John Muldoon, did."

"Does it always rain on ARIO Conventions?"

"Let's hear it for the Flip Side of Intelligence!"

"Suppose we had a Convention and nobody came?" (Jack Coakley's recurring nightmare.)

A reporter — "Were all you cute gals really spies, Mata Hari types — or are you mostly wives?" (I deplore the grammar, but sorted the syntax.) . . . "Most were Intelligence Officers and, of that 'most' some were wives. Hardly Mata Hari's, but professionals nonetheless — analysts, researchers, writers, editors and general factotum. Don't forget! She also serves who sits and analyzes."

And there was a Pennsylvania reporter whose interviewing priorities were: A) Women ARIO members from Pa.; B) A woman member; C) A male member from Pa. A fast search of our "Resources File" disclosed — NO "A's" in attendance, 50 some "B's and 1 'C". We hated to do it to you Helen Deck and Oscar Stroh, but that's the way the eagle soars.

Enter five media persons wishing to file reports on our two phones. Unlike 1776, Great Britain won this round and for twenty minutes we were treated to Oxfordian prose. We eavesdropped scandalously ("Spook's Convention," indeed!) but noted that he was returning the compliment. WE found out more than he did!

"Who is that photographer with the ARIO I.D. tag who says he's with *Izvestia*?" "That's George King, the official ARIO photographer." (Audible sighs of relief)

A slim young man says quietly, "I am General Wilson's driver. To which entrance should I bring the General tomorrow?" . . . "I'll check with Mr. Coakley." . . . "Where's Jack?" . . . "Right here." Another problem solved.

And so it went for eight and one-half hours on Thursday and the same on Friday with staggered breaks to attend sessions, committee meetings, discussions and the luncheons.

The content of the speeches certainly gave us all something to take home and ponder upon. . .

ARIO membership is up, with 25% of that membership women. Convention attendance is close to the latter figure with roughly 50 women out of more than 200 delegates.

Not all of ponderous import, but quotes your correspondent felt worth preserving: "I pursued, but never quite overtook, my studies." (Gordon McLendon) . . . "Babbling bureaucrats!" (LTG Graham) . . . "The fundamental 'secret' is the Ballot Box." (William Colby) . . . "One person's 'secret' is another person's open information." (Walter Pincus) . . . (The "corrective lens" theory) "Intelligence should help broaden the sometimes myopic view of those too close to the scene of action." (Helmut Sonnenfeldt) . . . "Democracy cannot be taken from us! We can only give it away!" (LTG Wilson) . . . "You can't conduct intelligence in a Macy's show window." (Dave Phillips in Philadelphia "live" interview)

A special vote of thanks must go to the fifteen Roguettes who kept their cool in Room H while all around them were wilting: Marian Gaumond, Myra Johnson, Doris King, Helen Kleyla, Florence Larson, Marjorie Martin, Mayme O. McNally, Ruth Olson, Ethel Pearson, Meg Roney, Dorothy Southerland, Elizabeth Sudmeier, Jo Thompson, Virginia Thorne and Pat Venable.

NUMERO UNO Recommendation for next year: Issue skateboards to all Roguettes for rapid transit from Lobby to "H" and return.

(This is another of PERISCOPE's presentations of personal viewpoints on intelligence by persons eminent in the field. Dr. Ray S. Cline, a member of ARIO's Board of Governors, is the author of *Secrets, Spies and Scholars*, which is reviewed on page 10. The review does not discuss Cline's views on the future of covert action. While the former Deputy Director of CIA and Director of INR at the Department of State endorses the maintenance of a covert action capability he does propose drastic change. The following — direct quotes from United Press International — outlines his proposal. We welcome comments from ARIO members).

"A former deputy director of the CIA says his old spy agency should be stripped of covert operations and turned into a relatively open research institute.

Dr. Ray S. Cline said he still favored limited clandestine operations by the United States, but they should be hidden in other parts of the federal government.

CIA headquarters, he said, should be purged of its 'dirty tricks' reputation by becoming the benign Central Institute of Foreign Affairs Research.

'The Central Intelligence Agency, the famous acronym which has become a worldwide public relations liability, would cease to exist,' he said.

Cline, educated at Harvard and Oxford, made the proposals in a memoir of his two decades of service with the CIA, 'Secrets, Spies and Scholars.'

Cline outlined a bold reorganization of the U.S. intelligence community which would allow CIFAR to assign intelligence tasks to intelligence units of the departments of state, defense, treasury, commerce and

agriculture intelligence units.

This reorganized intelligence apparatus, he said, should be monitored by a special committee of the House, as well as of the Senate. So far, only the Senate has such a panel.

Clandestine operations, he said, should be controlled by a small professional staff within the White House.

'These covert operations should not be too frequent nor too large,' he said. 'The operations themselves should be carried out by specifically trained personnel assigned to Clandestine Services or members of the Clandestine Services Staff.'

'The heart of these additional steps to put our intelligence on a sound footing is to change the popular image of intelligence by demonstrating that most of the work is neither illegal nor immoral.

'Thus, CIFAR should replace CIA at the Langley Headquarters Building, which could then be more open to scholars and journalists interested in consultation and substantive research findings.'

Cline said any future intelligence director should be a cabinet member standing above CIFAR, taking orders from the president and the National Security Council. He should have direct access to the chief executive, he said.

The deputy director for intelligence in 1962-1966, Cline departed from CIA Director George Bush's reluctance to publish the CIA annual budget which he said runs \$4 billion a year because 'the marginal value of this information over and above what Soviet and other spies can now get is so small that it is less important than the gain in congressional and public confidence in the accountability of our intelligence system.' "

ARIO LIFE MEMBERSHIPS AVAILABLE

Life Membership for interested ARIO members is now available for a one-time payment of \$150.00. The next edition of PERISCOPE will contain an Honor Roll of the first members to solicit Life Membership, to be recognized by issuance of a special membership card, listing on a plaque in the Arlo National Office, and other benefits and recognition as the Board of Governors shall approve during its December, 1976 general meeting. As the title implies, Life Members will receive all publications and enjoy all prerogatives of ARIO membership without future assessment.

Those who wish to provide full support to ARIO by becoming Life Members should so advise the National Office before the publication of the Winter Edition of PERISCOPE.

Association Notes From All Over...

From a newsletter for computer experts: "CIA Changes Name to CCIA. The Computer Industry Association became the Computer and Communications Industry Association by unanimous vote of its board of directors on August 19. The change was explained by Jack Biddle, CCIA president, 'as reflecting the growing interdependence of the computer and communications industries.' Biddle also said that the CIA acronym had caused some 'interesting confusion' since the association's move to Washington."

ARIO APPOINTS REGIONAL COORDINATORS

Three Regional Coordinators have been appointed to provide executive direction for the formation of Area and State ARIO Chapters. COL Carl Eifler, is now the West Coordinator, Col. George Weinbrenner, will be responsible for Central development, and Mr. Lawrence Sulc is the East Coordinator.

Each of the three Coordinators will have the authority to appoint Area or State Chairpersons. Colonel Eifler, for instance, has already announced that Lee Echols will be the California State Chairman, and Mr. Sulc has confirmed that Chairwomen Helen Priest Deck and Barbara Storer will continue to manage ARIO affairs in New England.

The West Area, under Colonel Eifler, is composed of the West Coast states, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. The Central states for which Colonel Weinbrenner will be responsible are Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South and North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. The remaining Southern and Eastern states will be supported in their activities by Mr. Sulc, who works from the ARIO national office.

ON THE INTELLIGENCE BOOKSHELF ...Current books of interest to intelligence buffs and watchers of the world scene. All reviews are by ARIО members.

SECRETS, SPIES AND SCHOLARS, by Ray S. Cline, Acropolis Press, Washington, D.C. 1976. \$10.00.

There are a number of reasons for reading this book, the first and least of which is that it is written by Ray Cline of our Board of Governors. Another reason, still not pertinent to the value of the book itself, may attract the curious: one suspects that Ray will be back in a key position in government one of these days. The remaining reasons for reading it and for giving a copy to others are many and they are compelling, as is the book itself.

Each of us had a different set of experiences in his or her intelligence career; few could have had as varied and exciting experiences as did Ray. He does not himself appear in the earliest part of this work which reviews the development of our intelligence services. The theme here — and it appears throughout — is the need for central intelligence. He tells of the struggle during and then after the war to put such an apparatus together. And he shows us that the form alone is not enough: there is a constant struggle to keep to satisfactory standards and to produce satisfactory results.

When he writes of his own experiences the book is liveliest. Don't get the wrong idea. This is a serious book. It is not romantic and it is never cute. In an aside at one point he says: "Most books on the subject of intelligence operations are garbage." He spends a little time good humoredly dissecting and spoofing the false mystique. He tells a straightforward story of the OSS and his experience in it and in other intelligence endeavors before he joined it. The important dividends are the constantly perceptive lessons he draws from these experiences — I won't say morals, although some of these lessons may be seen that way. He tosses occasionally an amusing How-To hint: "...controlling the newsbreaks... is the best entree to the great men, who like to be up to date even more than they like to be well briefed."

One assumes that this book will be on reading lists in courses of political science and international affairs. Maybe it will attract the attention of the bright and literate newspaperman here and there. You could do your Congressman and your country a service by sending a copy to the first with the prayer that his duty to the second will lead him to read it. Probably the President would get as much out of it as anyone else could and this might avoid for all of us what Santayana feared.

Ray Cline's mind is impressive and he writes clearly and forcefully and as simply as he speaks. The book is sometimes brilliant, sometimes exciting, and always interesting. He stirs the blood when he says that "There was an idealism and an urgency in all this that gave meaning and lives to a generation of CIA officers and their many colleagues in other agencies in the U.S. intelligence community." If the eyes of your young listeners have glazed when you told them what it was like clubbing away with your musket there at the high tide of the Confederacy at Gettysburg, give *them* this book: that is, if they be intelligent and thoughtful young — or even old — persons who need perspective to see how we intelligence people got where we are today or, better, were yesterday. (It's hard for anyone — even Ray Cline — to judge just where we are now.)

Once, a year or so ago, I congratulated Ray on his coolness in a TV performance in which he played the patient bull to serveral ill-trained matadors who peevishly waved their trendy capes at him. He said something like this: "Some of these people just don't know anything. They don't understand. You have to start with the basics and explain it to them." One admires Ray's being able to discuss the worst of the anti-CIA time in this book without — as it were — raising his voice.

Probably what hurts intelligence professionals most about the writing on intelligence in the press is the sloppiness of terms and the carelessness with facts, a looseness which would not be tolerated in the intelligence services but which our citizenry must consume or starve. (Or is it the lack of objectivity? We are told there is no such thing.) Perhaps the best moments an operations officer can remember are

those times when he obtained some good intelligence and sent something resembling truth forward with the editorial remarks cleanly removed from the report in the field comment. In this book examples of hewing to the clean line of respect for the truth are many. Ray makes this exciting on the analytical and on the most sophisticated level — the estimative. Thus he was disturbed by the abolishing of the Office of National Estimates in 1973: estimates "...should be responsive to the evidence... not bent to support [the policymaker's] views."

As his prescriptions for the future will be discussed elsewhere in this edition of *Periscope*, I shall not treat with them here except by saying that they will cause controversy. The book is a study of the pursuit of excellence and where we have fallen short. It is criticism in the best sense and it is a welcome change to have our real faults discussed by a professional.

John R. Horton

BODYGUARD OF LIES, by Anthony Cave Brown, Harper & Row, New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London, 1975. 947 pp.

At the 1943 summit meeting in Teheran, Winston Churchill while briefing Marshall Stalin on a series of deception operations to mislead Hitler and protect the supreme secret as to the time and place for the invasion of Europe in 1944 uttered a classic epigram: "In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies." Thus emerged the code name for the overall Allied plan for deceptions and stratagems that would vitally affect the success or failure of the Normandy invasion—Code name: NEPTUNE.

Hitler was completely confident of his ability to drive the invasion forces back into the sea. Despite losses in Russia, he still had a million men in the West entrenched in the strongest line of fortifications along the coast. It was the judgement of highest military authorities on both sides that the invasion would likely fail if Hitler could locate or rapidly concentrate his forces to meet the assault coming across one of the world's most capricious waterways. Such failure could only mean disaster of the highest order.

To counteract such bleak prospects, Plan BODYGUARD provided for fabrication of a series of war plans just close enough to the truth to seem credible to the Fuehrer, but which would mislead him completely as to the time and place of the invasion. A succession of intrigues would compel him to disperse his forces throughout Europe and thus weaken him in Normandy, to delay his response to the actual invasion by threats in other areas and continually suggest that Normandy was only the prelude to the "real" invasion coming in the Pas de Calais. By clever use of doubled agents, firmly in the control of the XX Committee, the Allies were able to feed Hitler with plans for invasion in other areas.

Plan BODYGUARD contained thirty-six subordinate plans and scores of associated stratagems all designed to disguise Allied intentions, conceal the real secrets of NEPTUNE and provide the one essential element needed for its success—Surprise.

The supreme prize that enabled BODYGUARD to succeed was called "ULTRA"—the interception and decryption of secret German wireless signals. Just how the Allies were able to duplicate the German cipher machine called Enigma and decode Hitler's signals makes most fascinating reading. Hitler had confidence in his Enigma machine to the very end and used it to send his most secret directives, which by 1944 were being read by top allied commanders almost as fast as by the intended addressees. The obvious value of this source explains the extreme measures to protect it, including Churchill's soul searching decision to sacrifice Coventry rather than to let Hitler know that his signals were being read.

On D-Day the top Allied generals read the pleas of Field Marshall Rundstedt to use the seventeen divisions earmarked for invasion contingency, including over 1600 panzers in the Pas de Calais, to drive the Allies back into the sea. But, Hitler vetoed the request believing "that the enemy is planning a further large scale operation in the channel area." Hitler's belief was based on deception reports from

(Continued on page 11)

AUTOGRAPHED COPIES OF SECRETS, SPIES AND SCHOLARS AVAILABLE FROM ARIО HEADQUARTERS

The publishers of Ray Cline's newest book have generously allowed ARIО to act as purchasing agent for readers who desire a personally inscribed copy. Send a check for the bookstore price, \$10.00 to ARIО with the name or names to whom Cline should pen his personal dedication. The price includes mailing costs — and a percentage of profit to ARIО for the expansion of our library.

ARIO'S NATIONAL OFFICE: We want to remind you that one of the reasons for opening an office is to provide you with better communication and to facilitate contact with the public, officials of the government and the media. Please write or phone the office when you need assistance or have a question. The address and phone number are on this page. We are still without a fulltime staff so the office hours are from 10AM-4PM weekdays (Eastern time). We hope we can afford a telephone answering device in the near future so that members across the country can at least get in touch at times convenient to them. In the meantime we will also maintain the PO Box in Bethesda as a valid mail address. Please make a note of my home phone number should you need to get in touch and get no answer at the office—Area Code 703—978-8985.

MAILINGS: With disappointment and frustration we find that many of you have not been receiving mailings or not getting all of the items we have prepared. Many have complained about the delay in receiving mail. We decided to go to a mail service early this summer to take advantage of bulk rates which requires a minimum mailing of 300 pieces *sorted by Zip Code*. It was just impractical to attempt that with volunteer "stuffers." We are aware of the problem and are trying to correct it. You could help by indicating on the survey questionnaire the date you receive this issue. We would then have a basis for discussion with the US Postal Service. We have got to have better results!

ARIO LIBRARY CONTRIBUTIONS: ARIO has received a splendid collection of books on intelligence from member Byron W. Keagle, of Collins, Iowa, and another from Col. Nelson H. Smith, of Naples, Florida. Many thanks! We still need contributions, including duplicate copies of the standard works in the field. Members are encouraged to continue checking their libraries for volumes which can be spared for the ARIO library.

NEW ARIO APPLICATION FORM ENCLOSED: In this mailing of PERISCOPE you will find a membership application form. This is *not* to be used for renewals, but rather to be given to those who may be interested in either Full or Associate membership in ARIO. (The \$15.00 dues requested are for 1977 and until May of 1978, and do not indicate a change from the regular \$10.00 dues for present members).

LETTERS AND ACTIVITIES IN NEXT ISSUE: In spite of four extra pages in this Convention Issue of PERISCOPE, space limitations are such that our regular columns on speakers' and writers' activities and letters from ARIO readers have been omitted. Each will be resumed in the next issue.

Jack Coakley

CORRECTION IN ORDER: The most recent edition of PERISCOPE inadvertently and inaccurately described Clinton Lee, of Wayland, Massachusetts, as an Associate Member. ARIO apologies — Mr. Lee is one of our early Full Members.

ARIO PORTRAITS BY A NEW MEMBER



Ted MacKechnie

This cartoon and the sketch on page three are the work of ARIO's newest cartoonist member. Ted MacKechnie, a free lance artist, came to the ARIO convention on assignment for *The Washington Post* drawing sketches for a long article which appeared the day after the convention. Although Ted, who is a retired Colonel, never served in an intelligence organization, he spent several tours in the National Military Command Center working with reconnaissance projects. We welcome Ted aboard as an Associate Member.

Continued from page 10...

controlled double agents that the entire First U.S. Army Group (FUSAG) — actually non-existent — and commanded by the feared and respected General George S. Patton, Jr., was not committed to Normandy but was planning other landings.

Bodyguard of Lies, the most complete record of cover and deception operations during WWII, is based on more than ten years of research and interviews with concerned officers on both sides. Very few documents on deception were available to historical writers until a flood of records on WWII were declassified in Washington in 1975. None of the documents cited in this book were obtained from British sources. The author, an Englishman, prefers to work in Washington where, uninhibited by the Official Secrets Act, he can have access to a plethora of previously-classified documents

— Wendell E. Little

In Memorium

Ruth Cann, former CIA officer, died in Sacramento, California, on 6 September 1976

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ARIO is now eighteen months old and it begins to appear that, despite some shaky moments in 1975, it and American intelligence will survive. Although we have never solicited funds other than dues and personal contributions of ARIO members, we have an office and the furniture is paid for. We just purchased shelves for the first books in our library. Our Second National Convention, thanks to some volunteer work from many of our members and a great deal from a few, was a success. We have a now-experienced cadre of public speakers and writers who will stand up and be counted when there is debate concerning the need for adequate intelligence in America. By the time you read this we will certainly have 1,300 members.



The most important thing going for us, after that initial period when many a skeptic eyed us warily, is our good name. Next week, for the fifth time, an ARIO representative will speak on that important little Hill in Washington—at Congressional request.

To me the most satisfying part of ARIO's development has been the ecumenical aspect—former intelligence professionals from all services working together, in tandem, and speaking in a collective voice which cannot be ignored. Let me quote from a letter one of our members just mailed to a number of his former colleagues. CAPT Robert P. Jackson, Jr., USNR (Ret) of Louisiana recently attended the ARIO convention with Mrs. Jackson. Returning home, he urged friends who had served with him in ONI to join ARIO. In his letter he told them: "ARIO was started by a few retired agents of the CIA, because of their concern... They evidently believed that only a joint organization could accomplish the things they hoped for... The retired personnel from any one organization could not be effective in the encouragement of Congress to pass the necessary laws to protect our national secrets. Separately they could be successful only as social clubs. Together the possibilities are great."

There has been considerable discussion as to whether ARIO should exist at all. Some of my former colleagues from CIA have not joined ARIO, saying frankly they believe intelligence is a secret business to be conducted in secret, and that its practitioners should continue in the silent service even in retirement, just hanging in there until the problems go away. Two years ago I agreed with them. Now I am convinced that ARIO's course is a proper one. The "problems" which have been behind the onslaught against intelligence, and which have tarnished the image of those who served diligently and honorably in an arcane but necessary trade, will be around for a long time. Today, as I write, a copy of *The Washington Post* is in view—there are two, separate lurid headlines on the front page about the CIA. The FBI is besieged now for actions taken against a revolutionary group which even as it was being investigated announced from underground that it was

responsible for bombing the United States Capitol. ARIO has never denied that American intelligence has made mistakes, some grievous. But ARIO must continue to insist that the intelligence community, on balance, has served this country well, and that intelligence operators were dedicated patriots.

Our task is not easy. We do not sell secrets, and thus cannot titillate those who write headlines or insist on indiscriminate revelation. (ARIO speakers have appeared before innumerable civic and educational groups—I am not aware of a single instance when one of our members has let slip a vital secret). To maintain credibility, we must be low-key and ready to admit that our critics can sometimes be well-meaning, with concerns as honest as our own. But a prudent long range investment can pay dividends. For instance, I have just reviewed a class-room kit for use in the nation's high schools. Produced by the Associated Press and Prentice Hall, the kit is composed of film-strips and tape cassettes about the CIA and the intelligence community; it is designed to provide students the information necessary to allow them to make their own decisions about the need for secret operations. As far as I know it is the only teaching aid of its kind now available in the American secondary school system, and certainly thousands of young people in hundreds of schools will be making their decisions about the role of intelligence after seeing the film-strips and hearing the cassettes. They will make that judgment after hearing the observations of four persons, each commenting on intelligence. The four? Senator Frank Church and three others. The other three are ARIO members.

You will have noted elsewhere that we now have three ARIO Regional Coordinators. Contact them, work with them. Form an ARIO group in your community—it takes only one of you to make a reservation at a restaurant and to invite those colleagues who live in your area to gather for a dutch-treat lunch and to plan local ARIO activity.

There is still much work to be done. Our detractors, many of whom have prospered from selling secrets, have made their impression, and we must put their perceptions in perspective for the American people.

Recently I have been working on a speech I will give at the end of the month in Madison, Wisconsin to a public affairs group. In the mail yesterday I received the publicity which has gone out for that presentation. Among other items was a suggested reading list about intelligence, provided to the group by the Madison public library. Four volumes were suggested, so that the members of the audience would be knowledgeable about intelligence operations before my appearance. The four volumes? First, the Rockefeller Commission Report, which is fine. The other three were *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, by Marchetti and Marks, *The CIA File*, by Marks and his colleague from the Institute of Policy Studies, Robert Borosage, and, finally, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, by Philip Agee.

Perhaps in the future ARIO can become a social and fraternal group, and we can all get together occasionally to swap war stories and drink to better times. But not

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Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4
ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS
SPEECH BY JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1976
RESTON, VIRGINIA
DISTRIBUTION TO
Bush Speech by
John Marsh

FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR HAVING INVITED ME TO TAKE PART IN YOUR PROGRAM THIS EVENING. PRESIDENT FORD HAS ASKED ME TO READ TO YOU THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE ON HIS BEHALF: (...begin message)

"THESE PAST TWO YEARS HAVE BEEN A TIME OF TESTING FOR THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

"THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD I HAVE MADE MY POSITION CLEAR: THE UNITED STATES CANNOT AFFORD ANYTHING BUT THE VERY BEST INTELLIGENCE IF WE WISH TO PRESERVE PEACE AND FREEDOM. I HAVE KNOWN MANY DEDICATED AND CAPABLE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS. THEY ARE A CREDIT TO OUR COUNTRY. THEY SERVE QUIETLY, WITHOUT PUBLIC ACCLAIM, AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS ARE OFTEN NEVER KNOWN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY OF THIS SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS TO EXPRESS MY DEEP APPRECIATION TO ALL OF THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED OUR COUNTRY AND WHO HAVE PROVIDED THE CRITICAL INFORMATION THAT THE PRESIDENT MUST HAVE IN DISCHARGING HIS RESPONSIBILITIES."

/s/ Gerald R. Ford

AS THE PRESIDENT NOTED IN HIS MESSAGE, THE PAST TWO

YEARS HAVE NOT BEEN EASY ONES FOR THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. IT HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT PERIOD NOT ONLY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES, BUT FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE ENTIRE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

AT THIS POINT LET ME MENTION TO YOU THE TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTIONS THAT WERE MADE BY THE FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE CIA, WILLIAM COLBY. IN A SITUATION IN WHICH THE PRINCIPAL THRUST WAS IMPACTING ON HIS AGENCY, BILL COLBY MET THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF PUBLIC SERVICE. I KNOW THE PRESIDENT WOULD WANT ME TO THANK HIM HERE TONIGHT IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS COLLEAGUES.

AS THE CONGRESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS DREW TO A CLOSE, THE PRESIDENT DECIDED TO USE AUTHORITY UNDER HIS EXECUTIVE POWERS RATHER THAN SEEK LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS TO EFFECT CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE EXECUTIVE ORDER IN BROAD TERMS HE SPELLED OUT THE CHARTERS OF COMPONENTS OF THE COMMUNITY. HIS EXECUTIVE ORDER ALSO DEFINED AND DESIGNATED CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES. IN ADDITION TO CERTAIN MANAGEMENT CHANGES, THERE WAS SOME RESTRUCTURING OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TOGETHER WITH PROVISIONS FOR EXECUTIVE OVERSIGHT INCLUDING THE NEWLY CREATED INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD.

HIS PURPOSE WAS NOT ONLY TO STRENGTHEN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, BUT TO SPECIFY SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ABUSES. THIS HAS RESTORED PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN OUR VERY EXCELLENT

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

OURS IS A UNIQUE GOVERNMENT OF CHECKS AND BALANCES. A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM IS ITS ABILITY TO ADOPT TO CHANGE AND TO EVOLVE AND TO MEET OUR NEEDS IN A WAY THAT OUR SYSTEM IS STRENGTHENED RATHER THAN WEAKENED.

I AM OF THE VIEW THAT OUT OF THIS TEST WILL COME PROCEDURES WHEREBY WE CAN ACHIEVE THE PROTECTION OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES AND TO CONTINUE TO HAVE AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE SECOND TO NONE TO MEET OUR VITAL SECURITY NEEDS. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUCH A STRUCTURE IS A CHALLENGE TO YOU AND TO YOUR COLLEAGUES.

YOUR ORGANIZATION, I THINK, HAS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY:

- YOU CAN HELP TO ACHIEVE A BETTER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE.
- YOU CAN PRESENT TO YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES VIEWS ON PENDING LEGISLATION THAT RELATE TO THE OPERATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR, YOU MIGHT REMIND PEOPLE THAT OUR INTELLIGENCE DID NOT BEGIN WITH OSS OR CIA, BUT WITH GENERAL WASHINGTON. A VISIT TO LANGLEY, WHERE ONE CAN SEE THE LONELY FIGURE OF NATHAN HALE SERVES AS A SILENT REMINDER THAT TWO CENTURIES AGO OUR FOREBEARERS PLACED A HIGH PRIORITY

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ON INTELLIGENCE.

I BELIEVE WE NEED TO LAY TO REST THE GROUNDLESS ALLEGATIONS THAT AMERICANS LACK EITHER THE EXPERIENCE OR THE APTITUDE TO ENGAGE IN SUCCESSFUL INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS.

IF YOU WERE TO TRAVEL WEST ON ROUTE 50, NOT FAR FROM WHERE WE ARE MEETING TONIGHT, BETWEEN THE VILLAGE OF ALDIE AND THE TOWN OF MIDDLEBURG, WHERE THE ROAD MAKES A GENTLE CURVE TO THE NORTH, A CAREFUL OBSERVER WILL SEE A STONE MONUMENT SIX TO SEVEN FEET TALL IN A MEADOW NOT FAR FROM THE SOUTH SHOULDER OF THE ROAD. NEARBY IS A HISTORICAL MARKER THAT EXPLAINS THE SOLITARY MONUMENT IN THE ROLLING VIRGINIA COUNTRYSIDE. THE MONUMENT IS TO JOHN CHAMPE, A CALVARYMAN FROM LOUDOUN COUNTY WHO WAS THE SERGEANT-MAJOR OF LIGHT HORSE HARRY LEE'S FAMOUS VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

THE MONUMENT IS MUTE TESTIMONY TO THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. JOHN CHAMPE DESERTED HIS REGIMENT AT THE REQUEST OF HIS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS REGIMENTAL COMMANDER. HE ABANDONED HIS FRIENDS AND SUFFERED THE DISGRACE OF DESERTION TO JOIN THE BRITISH ARMY. HIS MISSION WAS TO KIDNAP AND TO RETURN, TO AMERICAN LINES, BENEDICT ARNOLD AFTER HIS TREASON AT WEST POINT.

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JOHN CHAMPE CAME WITHIN AN INCH OF SUCCEEDING. HE ENLISTED IN ARNOLD'S AMERICAN LEGION AND CAREFULLY MADE HIS PLANS FOR THE KIDNAPING. ON THE NIGHT THE PLAN WAS TO HAVE BEEN EXECUTED, ARNOLD QUARTERS WERE MOVED AND THE PLAN TO DELIVER HIM TO WASHINGTON FOR TRIAL WAS ABORTED. CHAMPE REMAINED WITH ARNOLD'S LEGION AND WAS SENT FROM NEW YORK TO THE CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA WHERE HE ESCAPED AND MADE HIS WAY TO WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS. TO PROTECT HIM, WASHINGTON DISCHARGED HIM IMMEDIATELY FROM THE ARMY TO AVOID HIS RECAPTURE BY THE BRITISH WHO WOULD HAVE EXECUTED HIM AS A SPY.

ALTHOUGH WASHINGTON WOULD VOUCH FOR CHAMPE, THE TRUTH OF HIS MISSION NEVER OVERCAME HIS COVER. TO MANY OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, HE REMAINED A SUSPECTED TRAITOR. ULTIMATELY, JOHN CHAMPE WOULD LEAVE THE LOUDOUN COUNTY WHICH HE LOVED, TO TRY AND START A NEW LIFE IN WESTERN VIRGINIA. HE DIED WITH LITTLE RECOGNITION OR GRATITUDE FOR THE RISKS HE HAD ENDURED AND THE BRAVERY HE HAD DISPLAYED IN ONE OF THE MOST HAZARDOUS OF HUMAN ENDEAVORS.

THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AFFORDS US AN OPPORTUNITY TO RE-EXAMINE ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING PERIODS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. THAT EXAMINATION WILL SHOW THAT A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN AMERICAN VICTORY WAS THE

INTELLIGENCE SERVICE INSTITUTED PRINCIPALLY UNDER THE DIRECTIONS OF WASHINGTON AND CONTROLLED BY HIM. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS A WAR OF INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE.

IT WAS A COMMENT OF GENERAL WILD BILL DONOVAN ON THE NEED TO TELL THE INTELLIGENCE STORY IN THE REVOLUTION THAT LED CORRY FORD TO WRITE A BOOK ENTITLED "A PECULIAR SERVICE", WHERE THERE IS DESCRIBED THE CULPER SPY RING. THEY OPERATED IN MANHATTAN AND PROVIDED VITAL INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON ON THE MOVEMENT OF THE BRITISH FLEET AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE BRITISH LAND FORCES. THE SECURITY OF THIS MAJOR OPERATION WAS SO EFFECTIVE THAT IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE 1930'S THAT THE NAMES OF THE TWO CHIEF OPERATIVES WERE FIRMLY IDENTIFIED.

ONE OF THE MYSTERIES IS THE IDENTITY TO THIS DAY OF AGENT 355. AT THIS POINT LET ME MENTION THAT NUMERALS WERE USED TO DETERMINE KEY PERSONS BY THE CULPER RING. WASHINGTON'S IDENTIFICATION WAS 711. CONCERNING AGENT 355, OFTEN REFERRED TO AS "THE LADY", WE DO KNOW THIS MUCH ABOUT HER. SHE CAME FROM A WELL-TO-DO, SOCIALLY-CONNECTED NEW YORK FAMILY. SHE UNDOUBTEDLY MOVED IN CIRCLES THAT PROVIDED OPPORTUNITIES TO MEET WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE BRITISH ARMY INCLUDING MAJOR ANDRE WHO ACTED AS CHIEF OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE. SHE FELL IN LOVE WITH ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE CULPER RING, ROBERT TOWNSEND, AND BECAME HIS COMMON LAW WIFE.

THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SHE OBTAINED INFORMATION OF ARNOLD'S TREASON AT WEST POINT. ARNOLD WAS OF THE VIEW HE HAD BEEN COMPROMISED BY AN AMERICAN AGENT WITH ACCESS TO BRITISH INTELLIGENCE. SHORTLY AFTER ARNOLD'S ESCAPE TO NEW YORK CITY, SHE WAS ARRESTED AND DIED ABOARD THE BRITISH PRISON SHIP, THE JERSEY. HOWEVER, SHE BORE TOWNSEND A SON ON THE JERSEY. HER SON BECAME A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE. ONLY HE AND HIS FATHER, MAYBE ONE OR TWO OTHERS, EVER KNEW THE IDENTITY OF HIS MOTHER. TO THIS DAY, THERE HAS NEVER BEEN AN IDENTIFICATION OF THIS KEY AGENT IN WASHINGTON'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS A WAR OF BLACK PROPAGANDA AND SKILLFUL USE OF MISINFORMATION AND IN THESE ARTS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HAD NO PEER.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, HESSIAN MERCENARIES WERE HIRED BY THE CROWN AND PAYMENTS WENT TO THE GERMAN PRINCES. THESE PAYMENTS WERE ALSO BASED ON WOUNDS AND FATALITIES. ONE OF THE MASTER FORGERIES OF THE WAR WAS AN ALLEGED LETTER ONE OF THE GERMAN PRINCES WROTE LECTURING HIS REGIMENTAL COMMANDER FOR HAVING ACHIEVED VICTORY WITH FEW CASUALTIES. REPRIMANDING HIS OFFICER FOR TAKING PRIDE IN A SUCCESSFUL MISSION WITH MINIMUM CASUALTIES, HE REMINDED HIM AS TO THE COMPENSATION THAT WAS BEING LOST FOR SUCH BLOODLESS SUCCESS. THIS SKILLFUL LETTER WAS

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PROBABLY WRITTEN BY FRANKLIN. PRINTED IN GERMAN, IT WAS CLANDESTINELY CIRCULATED THROUGH GERMAN UNITS WITH DEVASTATING IMPACT INCLUDING LOSS OF CONFIDENCE NOT ONLY IN THEIR LEADERS, BUT IN THEIR PRINCES.

THE REVOLUTION WAS A WAR OF BOUNTIES AND DEFECTIONS. LAND IN AMERICA'S WEST WAS THE BASIC OFFER TO A SOLDIER WHO WOULD DEFECT STARTING WITH 50 ACRES AND INCREASING IN SIZE DEPENDING ON RANK. IT IS SIGNIFICANT TO NOTE THAT THE DEFECTION PROGRAM AGAINST THE GERMAN MERCENARIES WAS ONE OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL IN WARFARE , ACHIEVING NEARLY A 20 PERCENT DEFECTION RATE.

THE TRANSMISSION BY KEY OPERATIVES OF HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMATION WAS AIDED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INVISIBLE INK BY THE JAY BROTHERS WHICH WAS CALLED THE "SYMPATHETIC STAIN". IT WAS A FAVORITE OF THE CULPER RING AND WAS CONSIDERED ONE OF THE GREAT WAR SECRETS OF ITS TIME.

I SUBMIT TO YOU INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS ARE AS ESSENTIAL TODAY AS THEY WERE 200 YEARS AGO. OUR FUTURE AS A NATION DEPENDS UPON THE FLOW OF ACCURATE AND RELIABLE INTELLIGENCE TO ITS PLANNERS AND LEADERS.

IF YOU WERE TO ASCEND THE STEPS OF THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT YOU WOULD FIND PLACED IN THE SIDES OF THE MONU-

MENT, STONES TAKEN FROM THE VARIOUS STATES, REMINDERS THAT OUR'S IS A UNION OF MANY.

AT ABOUT THE 500 FOOT LEVEL, YOU CAN SEE A WHITE, POLISHED STONE TAKEN FROM THE RUINS OF ANCIENT CARTHAGE.

OTHER THAN AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE DONOR WHO GAVE THE STONE DURING THE LAST CENTURY, THERE IS NOTHING TO INDICATE WHY IN A MONUMENT THAT IS FULLY AMERICAN, THERE IS DISPLAYED A STONE WITH A HISTORY ALL ITS OWN TAKEN FROM A CITY OF ANOTHER PLACE AND ANOTHER TIME.

CARTHAGE ONCE FLOURISHED ON THE SOUTHERN SHORES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA; PROSPEROUS IN TRADE AND COMMERCE, AND MATERIAL WEALTH, IT WAS THE PRIDE AND ENVY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. BUT, CARTHAGE NO LONGER EXISTS.

COULD IT BE THIS STONE FROM THAT GREAT BUT FORGOTTEN CITY WAS PLACED THERE TO REMIND US THAT MATERIAL WEALTH AND PROGRESS WILL NOT ALONE ASSURE SURVIVAL. ANOTHER INGREDIENT -- NATIONAL WILL -- IS EQUALLY ESSENTIAL.

I AM SURE CARTHAGE WAS CRUSHED BY ROME FOR MANY DIFFERENT REASONS, BUT I AM ALSO SURE THAT AMONG THOSE REASONS WAS A FAILURE OF THEIR INTELLIGENCE SERVICE TO ADVISE THEM NOT ONLY OF ROME'S STRENGTH BUT ROME'S INTENTIONS.

THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS MADE UP OF

MEN AND WOMEN OF QUIET VALOR, DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT THIS NATION SHALL SURVIVE, AND THAT ITS LEADERS SHALL BE PROVIDED WITH THAT VITAL INFORMATION TO INSURE THAT IN THE THIRD AND SUCCEEDING CENTURIES IT DOES.

WE KNOW THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. WE KNOW THE OTHER HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION, BUT THE PLEDGE OF LIVES AND FORTUNES AND SACRED HONOR WAS KEPT BY THOSE WHOM POSTERITY DOES NOT KNOW. THAT PLEDGE IS BEING KEPT TODAY BY THOSE WHO'S NAMES AND DEEDS MUST BE ANONYMOUS--BUT WHOSE CALLING DESERVES THE RESPECT--THE SUPPORT--THE GRATITUDE AND THIS HONOR OF THE NATION AND ITS PEOPLE. FOR THIS REASON, I HAVE BEEN VERY PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN HERE TONIGHT.

THANK YOU.



PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. II, NO. 3, FALL 1976

In Reston, Virginia. . .

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION COMING UP!

Sixteen months after ARIO's founding, its Second National Convention will be held on September 16 and 17 just outside of Washington, D.C. The site where former intelligence men and women from all services will meet is the luxurious Reston Sheraton Inn and Convention Center, a modern complex of conference facilities, including a theater where ARIO seminars will convene. For recreational moments, the Inn offers a golf course, tennis courts, pool and sundeck.

The primary objective of the Convention will be to define the policy and outline the practices which the Association should adopt during the coming year. Delegates will be assigned to various committees to participate in resolution of the problems facing ARIO, to contribute their observations on activities already undertaken, to ratify the decisions made by its officers and Board of Governors (which met in Washington on August 12), and to propose new initiatives.

Registration and committee assignments will take place from 10 until 12 a.m. on Thursday, September 16. DCI George Bush will be the keynote speaker at the noon luncheon. All delegates will assemble at 2 p.m. for an orientation session, to receive reports from last year's committees, and to hear an overview of the Convention agenda and objectives. This will be followed, at 3 p.m. by a seminar, "Good Secrets, Nonsecrets and Bad Secrets", a discussion of the responsibility of the media in reporting on intelligence. Former DCI William E. Colby and ex-DIA chief Lt. General Daniel Graham will represent retired intelligence people, and Walter Pincus, of *The Washington Post* and another journalist will express the views of the Fourth Estate. Committee meetings will be held from 4 to 5 p.m.

After the 1975 Convention a number of delegates said there was not sufficient time during the some-

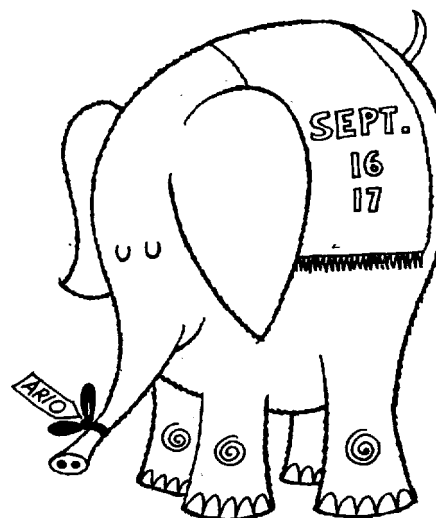
times hectic proceedings to visit with old friends and colleagues. Thus Convention activities on Thursday evening will be limited to a cocktail-buffet from 6 to 8 p.m. (The Convention Center and adjoining plaza have several excellent restaurants for those who wish a more formal meal after the cocktail).

On Friday, September 17, committees will again caucus from 9:30 to 10 a.m. A senior official from the Department of State will participate in a seminar on international developments from 10 until 10:45 a.m. There will be an assembly of all delegates at 11 a.m. to discuss the expansion of current ARIO regional chapters, and the creation of new ones.

Lt. General Samuel Wilson, Director of DIA, will be the speaker at the Friday luncheon. During the afternoon representatives from Congress will be on hand to discuss oversight and related developments. Following this seminar there will be a general assembly of delegates to hear reports from the various committees, to participate in general discus-

(Continued on page 2)

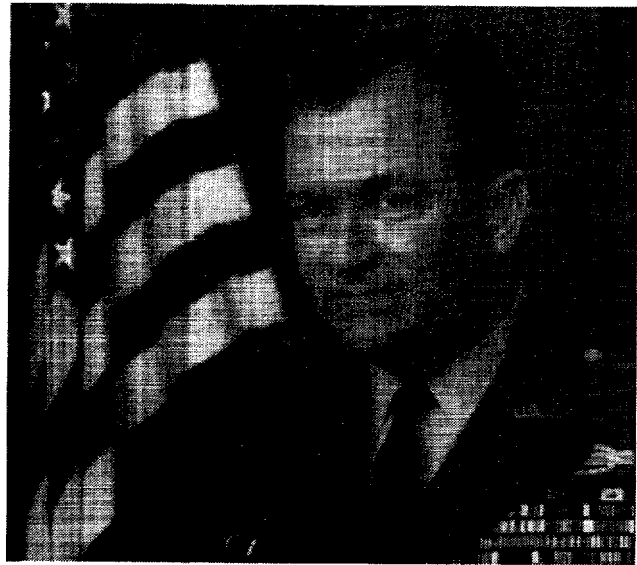
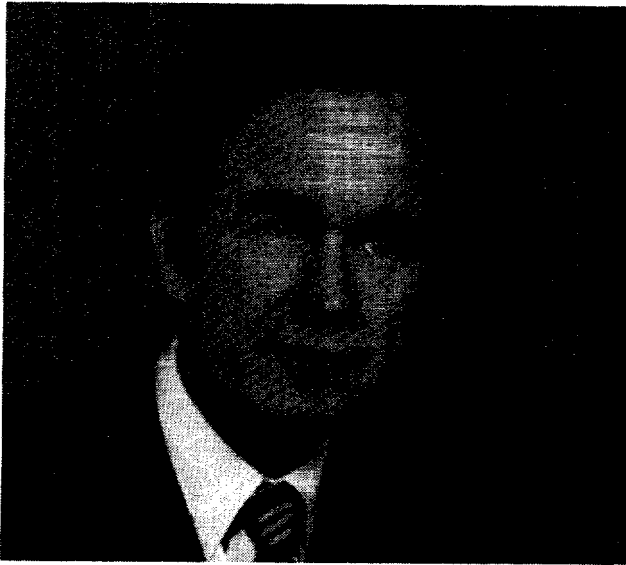
COME ON, ROGUES!



Don't Forget To Be With Us!

**JIMMY CARTER
ON INTELLIGENCE. . .**
The Democratic Candidate
responds to an ARIO member.

CIVILIAN AND MILITARY CHIEFS TO SPEAK AT ARIO CONVENTION



The Director of Central Intelligence, George Bush (left) and the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Lt. General Samuel Wilson (right) will address delegates to the Second National Convention on Thursday and Friday, September 16 and 17. Each has agreed to respond to questions following their luncheon remarks.

sions and to vote for new Board of Governor members.

Cocktails will be available from 7 to 8 p.m. on Friday evening, before the banquet. As this issue of PERISCOPE goes to press we still await confirmation that President Gerald Ford will be our principal speaker. Should that not be possible we expect that a speaker of national prominence will be on the podium.

The first ARIO champions in golf and tennis (men's and women's competition) will be announced during the banquet. The victors will have risen very early for the Friday morning tournaments!

Among the committees will be those on policy and

LYMAN KIRKPATRICK, JR. ELECTED AS CHAIRMAN OF ARIO BOARD OF GOVERNORS

The Association's Board of Governors met in Washington, D.C., on 12 August as required by the Constitution and By-Laws. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. was named by the Board as its Chairman, and thus will be the presiding officer at the Convention. The Board elected, or re-elected, the following ARIO officers for the coming year: David Atlee Phillips, President, Col. Walter S. Hammond, USAF (Ret.) as Vice President, Louis Napoli, Treasurer, and Phyllis Beach, Secretary.

The Board has also proposed, subject to ratification by the delegates at the Second Annual Convention in September, that the number of members be increased from 11 to 15. The additional candidates nominated by the Board will be found in the Convention questionnaire which is enclosed with this PERISCOPE.

plans (Whither ARIO?), fund-raising, academic plans, By-Laws and Constitution, membership services, membership expansion, publications and media. Convention delegates will also be asked to approve an ARIO insignia and adopt an ARIO motto.

Out-of-town delegates who will be arriving by air should attempt to book flights into Dulles Airport, which is near the Convention site, to take advantage of the courtesy limousine provided by the Sheraton Inn. Commercial limousine service is available, however, from Washington's National Airport.

Spouses and guests are welcome at Convention Seminars (Media, Congress and Department of State) and at the two luncheons, cocktail party and the Friday night banquet. Committee meetings will be open to spouses only.

For those who may have mislaid their convention application, the following fees apply: \$10.00 Convention Fee from all delegates and each spouse or guest who attends one or both luncheons or the cocktail party. A convention fee is not required if spouse or guest attends the banquet only (although the \$12.00 cost of the dinner is required). The Convention Fee of each delegate must be increased by \$7.00 per person if the Thursday luncheon is attended, by \$6.50 per person for the Friday luncheon, and by \$12.00 per person for the final banquet.

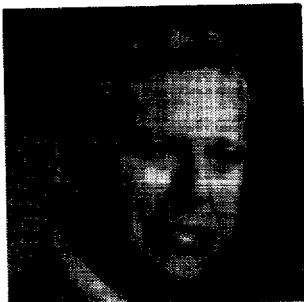
Business details for the Convention will be handled from ARIO's new Virginia office. Do not hesitate to call or write if there are questions you wish answered. The address is: ARIO, McLean Office Building, 6723 Whittier Avenue, McLean, VA. 22101. Telephone (703)

790-0320 or 790-0321

ADVICE FROM A VETERAN

Danny Graham Speaks to Former — and Present — Intelligence Officers.

The past year has been a traumatic one for all of us who have devoted much of our lives to the profession of intelligence. While there can be no doubt that much damage has been done, we can be thankful for stout hearts in the intelligence community and out of it who prevented the worst. We were, after all, in danger of Congressional fiat actually disbanding our key intelligence agencies. That we avoided truly draconian measures in something that intelligence officers and the nation at large can be thankful for.



I am on record, as many of you know, in opposition to both the Administration's and the Congressional "fixes" to the national intelligence apparatus. Neither am I content with the insertion of several layers of bureaucracy between intelligence chieftains and the policy-makers and decision-makers they serve. But I guess that it is the curse of most governments that the "solution" to problems usually turns out to be more complex wiring diagrams which compound more than solve the problems. In any case, it is now the problem of our colleagues in the business to make the new and cumbersome apparatus work as well as possible.

I would hope that we take at least two lessons from the recent uproar over our business:

—DON'T GET MIXED UP WITH POLICE WORK.

For reasons that looked eminently sensible at the time, both the CIA and military intelligence people got themselves hip deep in law and order problems. CIA got involved because of legitimate interests in counterespionage; the military got involved because of legitimate interest in riot control and troop subversion; NSA got involved because of the legitimate fallout of important law-enforcement information from its normal efforts in foreign intelligence. The foreign intelligence agencies involved themselves because they were requested to do so. They were requested to become involved because of their inherent capability to respond. We got into trouble by not insuring ourselves against the inevitable con-

sequences of reaction from those political elements who could claim ignorance of such collaboration and thus strike outraged postures for the consumption of their constituencies. In any intelligence effort where the foreign collection nature is not abundantly clear, intelligence managers must make certain that the names of the political leadership are firmly on the blame line.

—THE NATURAL ALLIES OF INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES ARE THE OTHER INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

We intelligence people have too often in the past allowed our competitiveness to overshadow common sense. Even under the extreme duress of the Congressional hearings there was jockeying for position within the community. Too often muckrakers would be assisted by officers of one agency knocking their colleagues in another one. Bureaucratic competitiveness will be always with us, and is in some ways a good thing — an indicator of *esprit de corps*. But intelligence has had too much of it; one-upmanship has too often been more important than the common mission — sound information to support sound decisions in foreign affairs. CIA officers and the Department of Defense intelligence people in particular must bear in mind constantly that theirs is a natural partnership. Attempts by one side or the other to dominate the intelligence operations of the other by joining its detractors can only damage the efforts of both.

The ARIО can help in bringing these messages home. The inclusion of retired FBI men and military intelligence officers in our organization should provide a forum sufficiently free of the day-to-day crises of the intelligence business to provide careful but detached advice to our embattled colleagues.

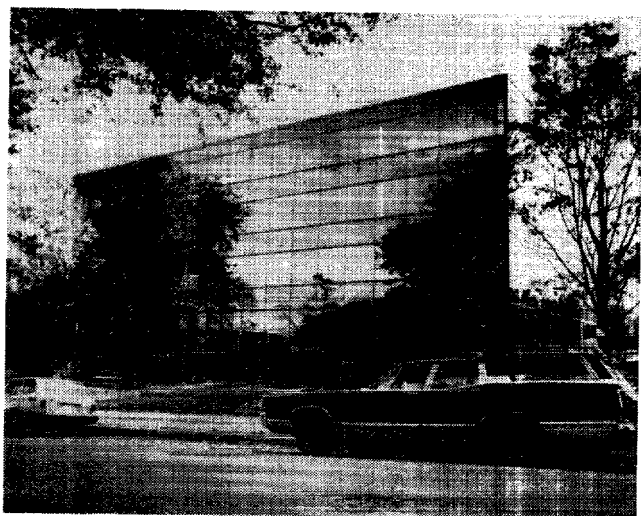
(Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA [Ret.] is the former Director of DIA. This is the second in a series on vital aspects of intelligence by known authorities. In the next issue: Dr. Ray Cline, former DDI for CIA, Director of INR in the Department of State, and now Executive Director of Studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.)

IMPORTANT NOTICE FOR NEW ENGLAND ARIО MEMBERS

The attention of members of the New England ARIО Chapter is called to a change in the date of the October meeting. It will be held on Saturday, October 30 at the Boston Marriott. This change has been made so that Dr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., of Brown University and Chairman of the ARIО Board of Governors, can be the speaker. There will be further details in the next New England Chapter newsletter.

The New England Chapter became official at a luncheon on 18 June, thanks to the energy of Helen Priest Deck, Barbara Storer and their Coordinating Committee. State Coordinators are Newton Holbrook, Connecticut; Barbara Storer, Maine; Bruce Rounds, New Hampshire; Lambert Porter, Rhode Island; Dr. Frank Sargent, Vermont; and, for Massachusetts, a Committee which includes Alan Goldman and Associate Member Clinton Lee.

In addition to its newsletter, the ARIО New England Chapter has its own bank account and ambitious plans for ARIО activities in the six-state area. Representatives of the thriving group will be asked to describe their program in a discussion of Chapter operations during ARIО's September Convention.



While ARIO's legal address will remain the same, much of its future business will be conducted in offices in this building in McLean, Virginia. Only two blocks from a shopping center, the modern building is surrounded by trees and ample parking space. ARIO members are welcome to visit the office and use its library between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. The address is: McLean Office Building, 6723 Whittier Avenue, McLean, Virginia, 22101. Telephones (703) 790-0320 and 790-0321. It is hoped that out-of-town ARIO members will take advantage of our facilities during Washington visits.

A former CIA case officer is running for Congress in Miami — and a major plank in his platform is a call for a strong U.S. intelligence capability. E. C. "Mike" Ackerman announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. House of Representatives in the 13th Congressional District on 15 June. Ackerman resigned from CIA in 1975 after eleven years service with harsh words for Congress and the media, claiming he could no longer work effectively as an intelligence officer in the wake of constant leaks of sensitive information and sensational headlines.

In a Miami press conference announcing his candidacy, Ackerman attacked the record of the incumbent, Florida Representative Lehman, a member of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, better known as the Pike Committee. Lehman, Ackerman said, voted consistently against the best interests of intelligence during the Committee's life.

While a political unknown, Ackerman was active in Democratic politics prior to this government service, and speaks fluent Yiddish, Spanish and Italian — all languages used by ethnic groups in the 13th Congressional District.

Ackerman described recent investigations as having "crippled the CIA's clandestine intelligence-gathering capability, a capability we sorely need in today's world of economic warfare, of uncertain detente, of escalating terrorism and nuclear proliferation."

Ackerman is the author of *Street Man*, the story of his career as a case officer. (See page 6).

ARIO ON THE MOVE. . .

(ARIO's modest newsletter doesn't have space to note all activities of our members in spreading the word, but in each issue we will mention representative items. ARIO members are requested to advise us of public appearances.)

One of ARIO's most energetic spokesmen is Lt. Col. J. ARNOLD SHAW of Waco, Texas. Drawing on military and CIA experience, Col. Shaw has written a number of newspaper articles, addressed numerous civic groups, and appeared on radio and television — twice on KCEN-TV, two appearances on KWTX radio. He's not a late-starter, having begun an area-wide campaign to explain intelligence before ARIO was created. . . . The French National Radio Network recently broadcast a special Bicentennial program from Washington. Following their request to ARIO for a linguist, WILLIAM DUNBAR was the subject of an up-beat interview, in French. . . . SHERMAN HOAR, skeptical about the value of his first ARIO speech "to thirty-four Baptists", is reaching a wider audience now. The Edgartown, Mass. resident was subsequently interviewed by the Boston Globe, and, most recently, appeared on WCVB-TV, a program which was repeated on five stations — in Rhode Island, Maine, and Vermont.

ANOTHER WAY YOU CAN HELP ARIO

Although it will be modest in the beginning, we hope to have an intelligence research library in our new offices. It will be available to ARIO members and scholars and writers. Please send us any books on intelligence, including serious fiction, which you no longer need. Paperbacks welcome.

The prestigious Saturn Club of Buffalo, New York, recently asked ARIO for a speaker. JOHN M. MAURY, former senior CIA official and later Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, flew up to satisfy the request. Jack is certainly busy for a man who claims to have retired. He has appeared on public forums, before civic groups, and on several television and radio stations. He received extensive press coverage in, to name only a few of the cities he visited, Atlanta, Tampa, Mobile, Columbus, and Macomb, Illinois, where he debated in a panel with Senator Birch Bayh and Representative Thomas Railsback. . . . JOHN S. WARNER, until recently the General Counsel for CIA, spoke in May to a chapter of the Reserve Officers Association of the Air Force, and his speech on the need for U.S. intelligence was reprinted in the Congressional Record.

One of ARIO's California members recently had a rough public speaking debut: ESTHER DAVIS writes: "I had been asked to speak at a Drug Rehabilitation Center, a residential program where I am a volunteer, on my thirteen years overseas experience. I had not mentioned any CIA connection before this time but saw no reason not to speak of it with pride. I wasn't prepared for the 'Pearl Harbor'-type surprise attack when one in the audience came at me with the statement that 'CIA killed President Kennedy'. I'm afraid I didn't keep my cool but I've now been blooded and I'm not through. Perhaps enlightening even a group of addicts who are trying to go clean may have its value." Hang in there, Esther! . . . Another distaff ARIO member in California, MARGARET RUDDOCK, a former model and intelligence officer, will lecture at Emeritus College in Kentfield. Margaret writes: 'I look forward to this opportunity to support ARIO efforts to refute 'The Theater of the Absurd' — I believe I can do it.'

ARIO Washington Headquarters has been contacted by a number of authors writing books on intelligence. One of the most recent was a young Japanese writer who also holds the Chair of American Studies at the University of Tokyo. He asked SAMUEL HALPERN what he

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE ON THE CIA

Florida ARIO member Betty Bowers was present during a speech by Jimmy Carter in late 1975. She wrote to him, asking that the candidate clarify remarks concerning the CIA. This was his reply, dated March 1, 1976.

The CIA should not be abolished. We need some sort of intelligence gathering service. We cannot rely upon public relations handouts from Communist countries as our sources of information. But there is only one person who ultimately can be responsible for the actions of the CIA. That man is the President. As President, I can assure you that I will take full responsibility for all of the agency's actions.

We have learned recently that never again should our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people. We must not use the CIA or other covert means to effect violent change in any government or government policy. Such involvements are not in the best interests of world peace, and they are almost inherently doomed to failure.

We must never again keep secret the evolution of our foreign policy from the Congress and the American people. They should never again be misled about our options, commitments, our progress or our failures. If the President sets all policies openly, reaching agreement among the officers of the government, if the President involves the Congress and the leaders of both parties rather than letting a handful of people plot the policy behind closed doors, then we will avoid costly mistakes and have the support of our citizens in dealing with other nations.

The CIA must operate within the law. The President must be willing to accept responsibility for the mistakes within the executive branch and to take specific steps to see they do not recur. Intelligence is a service to allow foreign policy to be based on more complete information. The function of the intelligence agency should be to provide this service, not to overthrow governments or make foreign policy unilaterally or in secret.

thought of the Japanese police. Sam replied that he had a high opinion of them, having observed the Tokyo police handling the student riots of the 1960's with considerable skill — avoiding undue violence and averting bloodshed. The Japanese professor-writer responded that he agreed — having witnessed their tactics first-hand, when he was one of the student rioters!

Speaking of books, the fall and winter publishing lists will contain a number of them on intelligence with — for the first time in a long time — the majority defending the need for intelligence and providing some perspective. ARIO members who will be publishing shortly include BILL COLBY, PEER DE SILVA, HARRY ROSITZKE, RAY CLINE, GEORGE FILL and DAVE PHILLIPS.

CAPT. JACK O. JACKSON will speak on the U.S. intelligence role in Lakeland, Florida soon. . . TOM POWER, whose first TV appearance for ARIO in San Francisco was "an ambush", has survived to speak in the state of Washington to a Kiwanis Club, a Scottish Rite Temple, U.S. Navy alumni and the Seattle Young Mens' Republican Club. . . MILTON BROWN has addressed Lions and Kiwanis groups in Atlanta. . . Within a period of three weeks LEE ECHOLS forayed the area around San Diego on a forensic rampage: he addressed three church groups, two Rotary clubs, four Kiwanis, a crime prevention association, four retired officers meetings and appeared on radio station XEMO. "I do them all free", Lee says, "except for a few quick highballs I can cadge off of 'em and then a meal of some sorts." . . . WENDELL E. LITTLE has written a review of A Man Called Intrepid to be published in Washington (and see page 6 for another review). . . THOMAS B. SMITH, author of *The Essential CIA*, has been busy in New England, speaking before several groups, appearing on WHEB radio and television stations WCSH and WCVB in Portland and Boston. . . HARRY T. MAHONEY has been active with college groups around Chicago, where he recently moved. . . PHILIP H. CLARK, in Pittsford, N.Y. reports a friendly response from his audiences. . . From Tucson, HAYDEN CHANNING says

his Speakers' and Writers' kit has been useful for work with a local committee on foreign relations and LEONARD PRATT recently participated in a group discussion on intelligence....HAYDEN ESTEY was the main speaker at a luncheon of the Washington Society of Association Executives and before Republican Women in Arlington . . . DAVID R. GIVEN, one of ARIO's younger members, was well-received by the Huntington, West Virginia Civitan Club. . . . JOSIAH H. FISHER (Joe) in Meridith, New Hampshire, has spoken to several civic groups and — good to report — high school audiences . . . BEN RACUSIN is active in Hilton Head; there has been ample newspaper coverage of his civic and university appearances. . . JOE BROADWATER has been doing good work with civic groups and high schools in the Athens, Huntsville and Decatur areas of Alabama. . . ARTHUR L. JACOBS is the author of an article defending the concept of covert action in a recent issue of *Freedom at Issue*, published by Freedom House. . . ANITA POTAKI recently received a fee for her speech before a Galthersburg, Maryland womens' group — and promptly donated it to ARIO! . . . Capt. J. E. (Ned) Dolan has spoken to a number of retired officers' associations and civic and church groups in the Maryland area. Ned reports one use for the Writers' and Speakers' kit: his daughter studied it in preparing a presentation at her school. . . And MARGUERITE RONEY's niece used it to bone up for a debate on intelligence in her school. She won!



A Man Who Must Have Been Really Deep!

Readers of the last issue of *Periscope* will recall that we asked if anyone knew this man, who in public appearances claimed to be an ex-CIA officer, and used ARIO as a source for wild assertions.

Replies to Date: 0.

ON THE INTELLIGENCE BOOKSHELF. . . Current books of interest to intelligence buffs and watchers of the world scene. All reviews are by ARIO members.

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Secrecy and security are essential to intelligence, but do present problems of control and abuse to democracies. Nonetheless, despite these difficulties, the U.S. can and must find a workable formula because the future of all democracies rests with the U.S.

James E. Flannery

***A Man Named Intrepid*, by William Stephenson, Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, New York and London, 1976. 472 pp. \$12.95.**

A Man Named Intrepid is a fascinating chronicle about how a "Quiet Canadian" foresaw the critical role of intelligence in the coming struggle with Hitler and, as a consequence, influenced enormously the course of World War II.

An intimate of Winston Churchill's, William Stephenson was the intermediary between Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt on the most highly restricted and sensitive aspects of their exchanges on intelligence, political collaboration, and covert operations — starting back in September 1939 when Roosevelt lacked the support of American public opinion for involvement in Europe's troubled affairs and Churchill, not yet Prime Minister, lacked the official position to embark on this relationship with the President of the United States. Once Prime Minister, Churchill dubbed Stephenson Intrepid for code purposes and charged him with organizing, virtually overnight, an integrated intelligence organization to engage the Nazis everywhere in every respect. He established his headquarters on what he thought was the safehaven of U.S. soil; he managed to keep J. Edgar Hoover sufficiently mollified and cooperative to function effectively. He served as the midwife of the birth of O.S.S. Yet, despite his array of collateral responsibilities, Stephenson remained essentially an intelligence officer, very much involved in such tremendously significant coups as breaking the German code and reading their highest level radio traffic as well as frustrating German efforts to win the atomic weaponry race.

Most surprising to me was the extent to which our British brethren candidly laid out operations whose sensitivity had not been dimmed by time. One just assumes that assassination and contrived "fatal accidents", counterfeit currencies, forgeries, mail and electronic intercept programs — to mention only a few — are not the kind of activities Her Majesty's Government would wish associated with it, though thirty-five years after the fact. Even less palatable to HMG would seem to be unveiling the searing moral dilemmas involved in "playing God" with intelligence: for example, Churchill's decision not to compromise the Ultra intercept program by warning the people of Coventry about Hitler's order to obliterate the town; the decision to assassinate the Butcher of Prague, Heydrick, even though brutal retaliation was anticipated (and, in fact, did transpire with the decimation and leveling of the village of Lidice); and so on.

Stephenson (by now Sir William) penned the Forward to the book's narrative, and the final chapter — consisting of conversations with the author — serves as his Epilogue. It is clear from these personal statements that Sir William's (and, presumably, HMG's) uncharacteristic willingness to accede to the disclosures in this book was stimulated by fears that the U.S. might throw its intelligence baby out along with the post-Watergate dirty linen. The message to us is one only an old friend and ally would care to try to articulate: intelligence is

ALSO RECEIVED. . . .

***The Spymasters, The True Story of Anglo-American Intelligence Operations within Nazi Germany 1939-1945*, by Charles Whiting. Saturday Review Press/E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York 1976. 232 pp. \$8.95.**

***Will America Surrender?* By Slobodan M. Draskovich. Outline of a concept that the U.S. has no alternative outside of nuclear war or surrender. The Devin-Adair Company, Old Greenwich, Conn., 1973. 440 pp. \$9.95.**

***Street Man*, By Emanuel C. ("Mike") Ackerman. The author's career as a CIA operations officer and his observations on intelligence. 1976. Available from: Committee For Mike Ackerman, 87 N.E. 167th St., North Miami Beach, Florida 33162.**

***Sexpionage, The Exploitation of Sex by Soviet Intelligence*, by David Lewis, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York and London, 1976. 174 pp. \$8.95.**

This slim volume makes sad reading for the capitalist case-officer, even sadder if he is, like you and me, approaching his senescence. Espionage without sex: Man A meets Man B (often more useful than attractive), takes notes, edits, composes a hot cable to headquarters, writes a contact report. Plain espionage is dull work indeed: no long-legged blondes, no unfamiliar double-beds, no dirty pictures.

This sexpose of KGB under-the-covers work by a British journalist plows little new ground. Its main theme is familiar: the KGB uses female prostitutes (swallows) and male prostitutes (ravens) to lure or blackmail westerners into becoming spies. It extracts the sexual episodes from some well-known and publicized cases, and pads this thin hard-core with a section on the history of Soviet intelligence, a detailed description of the most up-to-date optical and audio gadgetry for bedroom use, and several sexless cases like Kim Philby's career and the smuggling of a Sidewinder missile out of Germany. A rather pointless final chapter proposes solutions for the sexpionage problem (the first, amnesty for all sexpionage victims.)

The author's main contribution to the literature of sex and espionage is his chapter, *Confessions of a Swallow*, based on an interview with a swallow who had flown her Muscovite nest and ended up in North Africa. Her story, appropriately recorded in "a small cafe in the brothel area" of a Tunisian town, provides graphic details on the course of her training at the "Verkhonoye House of Love" near Kazan (an installation I have not heard of before) where both swallows and ravens are made into cool-headed professional sexualists.

Soviet sexploitation is naturally heaviest in Moscow where a bevy of swallows and a pride of ravens are always on call, where choice hotel-bedroom and apartments are fully equipped with bugged mattresses and peep-hole cameras, and where western visitors and residents are easily surveilled and their entrapment arranged. The juiciest sexcapade is the now familiar "Case of the French Ambassador" from the Fifties. A cultivated raven is brought in for his wife in order to gain entry to the family circle. The first swallow for the husband is a big-breasted divorcee, but she is quickly replaced by a tall slender actress who is married to a jealous (absent) husband who is needed to spring the trap. Only a few other Moscow entrapments are mentioned, although Western intelligence records count hundreds of attempts and scores of successes.

Since sex is global, Soviet sexpionage knows no geographical limits. A gypsy-boy raven seduces the 16-year old daughter of a French intelligence officer in Belgrade. One of Runge's men in Germany, Heinz Suetterlin, woos and marries a frustrated spinster in the Bonn Foreign Ministry to start a six-year flow of NATO and West German military documents to Moscow. Lama Martinez is assigned to become the mistress of Che Guevara (I don't know about this one) and eventually to betray him to the Bolivian authorities. A French beauty seduces Admiral "Sonny Boy" Luedke in Paris. The KGB runs a sexpionage brothel in Berlin. And so on.

Sex, it seems, is the soft under-belly of capitalist society, for it is not confined to any nation, social class, or age-group. The author (and the jacket blurb) visit upon the KGB's cold-blooded sexploits the proper expressions of Anglo-Saxon piety a la Senator Church: cruel, sordid, brutal, callous, cynical. Questions can be raised. Are patriotic prostitutes more degenerate than happy hookers? Is blackmail with photographs more immoral than bribery with money? These are hard questions, but I doubt if the KGB gives them much thought in laying on their penetration operations.

Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4 (continued on page 7)

in the ario pouch. . . .

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Letters from readers are encouraged. Pseudonyms acceptable. Some may be edited for reasons of space.)

To the Editor,

First, let me say what I think our organization should *avoid* in terms of its appearance, reputation, and activity: (1) just another propaganda outfit promoting and defending, willy-nilly, another special interest; (2) one more pressure group — with the arrogance of divine right and omniscience — pushing one more special interest sugarcoated as one more panacea for complex problems.

Secondly, the kind of character and image I think we should *project* is one of restraint, reason, fairness, and moderation in recognizing that everything done in the name of intelligence has *not* been right and, undoubtedly, won't be in the future; that we don't have all the answers to some basic problems on the role of intelligence in a democratic society (and especially the U.S. right now), but we can't just give up or quit functioning while we try to find them; and, that all critics aren't "ding-bats", knee-jerk liberals, wooly idealists, or half-ass radicals. Indeed, many may be just as sincere, concerned, and privy to as much wisdom as we think we are.

This doesn't mean ARIО needs to equivocate on difficult issues, or, avoid taking a firm stand and letting the chips fall where they may on others, or, be a "patsy" in any way — just reasonable and balanced in our approach or reaction to a situation. I guess what I would like to see is for us to emulate Common Cause as an organization more than some other rigid ones. . . not in a stereotype sense of course, but in tone. I think our audience would be wider and our acceptance greater too — all of which would amount to more influence in getting the message across.

"John Smith"

To the Editor,

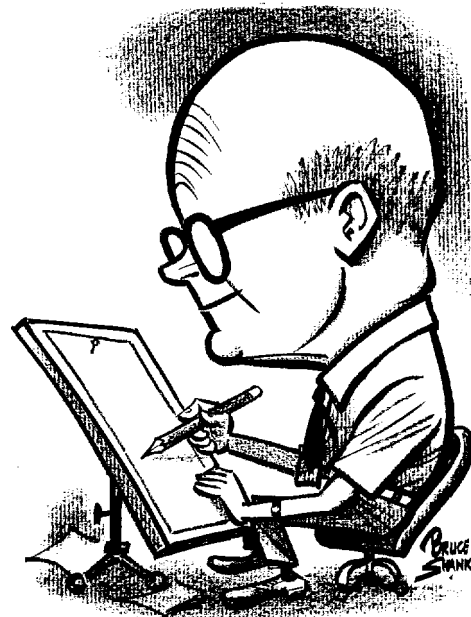
" . . . With reference of the article by David Phillips entitled 'Of Rogue Mice and Men' I believe that David will agree that his statement 'But even realpolitikers acknowledge that officials and citizens of a country should abide by their own national laws' is not true for communist governments nor certain South American governments.

With regards the overall assault on the intelligence community I feel that informing the public is only part of a possible defense. The other part is an offensive against the initiators of the attacks on our intelligence services."

COL. Sydney U. Barnes, AUS Ret.

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SELF PORTRAIT OF A NEW MEMBER



ARIO is proud to have in its membership our first Pulitzer Prize winner, cartoonist Bruce Shanks of Boca Raton, Florida. Bruce served in Air Force intelligence in World War II. Otherwise he was very busy until his retirement during his forty-one years as staff cartoonist for the Buffalo Evening News. In addition to the Pulitzer, he has received the coveted Christopher Award, thirteen Freedom Foundation Awards and so on — for a total of 29! Bruce is married to the former Louise Van Vleck. (See "Who's Who" for further information).

Continued from page 6 . . .

Just a footnote. I was startled to learn from the glossary that "end-of-the-line agent" is CIA jargon, and that among our common euphemisms are "executive action" and "wet work" (you know, when "wet stuff" like blood is spilled). The author also draws an odd distinction between "blacks" (full-time agents) and "greys" (part-time).

For the not-so-senescent retiree who may feel some frustration after reading *Sexpionage*, I see one glorious way out — or in. There are, as we know, very few seductive Soviet women assigned overseas (I met only one, the charming Ukrainian wife of a Tass correspondent). To get in on the end-of-the-line action, go on a tour to Moscow where the swallows are (you'll be an immediate target, you lucky man), let yourself be lured (slowly, if possible) into a peep-eyed room by a long-legged socialist blonde, look with shock at the pictures the cops show you, and disgorge (quickly, if possible) a ream of disinformation I'm sure the Agency will be happy to supply you with. Up the Good Guys: sexpionage is hoist on its own petard.

Washington, Fort Myer, Tucson, or Moscow: which would a red-blooded retiree choose for his Last Hurrah?

Harry Rositzke

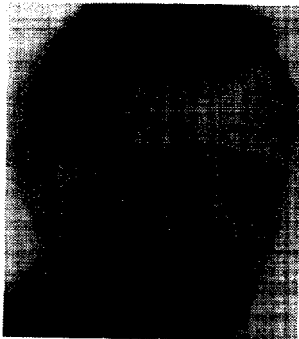
In Memorium

Rex E. Greaves, former CIA officer, died in Austin, Texas, 9 May.

Captain James G. Stahlman, USNR (Ret.) died in Brentwood, Tennessee, 1 May.

FROM THE DESK OF DAVE PHILLIPS

I'm going to miss the Xerox in the bedroom. New Yorkers are said to become accustomed to the noise of subways and elevated trains, and even to have trouble sleeping if service is suspended and they must cope with the sound of silence. Somehow I have grown fond of the clunk-clunk of the Xerox over the past fourteen months, and find it soothing. Now it is being moved to ARIO's new office in Virginia. Perhaps just as well, Gina, for reasons which are not entirely clear to me, does not share my affinity for the grey reproduction machine. When I told her we had conducted our first meeting in the new office she replied, "Fine. Now when is the monster going?"



Our membership continues to grow, and ARIO's list of distinguished ex-intelligence people expands with each day's incoming mail. See page seven for one of our new members, a Pulitzer Prize winner. Our first former Governor is Hugh Gregg of New Hampshire. When you receive the Winter Supplement for the directory you will find many new names, recruits from all services.

There is less and less reason to publicize the Washington group known as the Fifth Estate, publisher of *CounterSpy*. But you might be interested in some recent press mention. The *Washington Post* carried a story under the headline "Anti-Spy Magazine Staff Split." Some quotes: "Political and personal bickering has split the staff of *CounterSpy*. . . Although the magazine's office is closed and four of its seven staff members have resigned, those who remain said the magazine will continue. . . Both current and former members said that personality clashes contributed to the split. One member reportedly accused other members of being police agents, anticommunists, sexists and liberals. . ." And, perhaps you missed this AP report from London: "The editor of an American magazine that has named dozens of alleged CIA agents around the world was barred from Britain last night, the Home Office reported. A spokesman said Home Secretary Roy

Jenkins ordered the ban on Perry Douglas Fellwock of *CounterSpy* magazine because his presence in Britain would 'not be conducive to the public good.' Fellwock writes under the name Winslow Peck. . . Fellwock arrived from West Berlin last night at London's Heathrow Airport, and immigration officials sent him back. . ."

Perhaps in time and with additional members and income we can expand PERISCOPE so that proper recognition can be given those who have devoted long hours of volunteer labor to ARIO and its activities. One example must be on the record: the superb job Herbert "Paddy" King and his wife Doris have done over the past year in bringing PERISCOPE from an uncertain journalistic infant to a professional and, I hope you will agree, meaningful association publication. ARIO thanks them for a job well done.

Speaking of volunteers, we need a speaker for an engagement quite far afield — in Bonn, Germany. ARIO headquarters has received an invitation from the American Chamber of Commerce there. They say they have read of ARIO's activities and would like a pro-intelligence speaker to appear before the influential group of American and German businessmen. As they can't pay for travel expenses — and ARIO certainly can't — we would appreciate hearing from any members with forensic talent who plan to visit Bonn during an upcoming vacation. Let us know, and we will negotiate the date of the speech, which is to be in English.

ARIO is now using a commercial mailing service to handle the volume which is now beyond volunteer capacity. There are bound to be some slip-ups, and some notices and publications lost in the mail. In each issue of PERISCOPE we will mention the most recent mailing so that you can let us know if something goes wrong. In this instance, each ARIO member should have received by now the new Directory of Members, Summer edition. If you have not, let us know.

Have to stop now. The Xerox people are at the door. The end of an era, I guess.

See you in Reston in September!

Periscope is published quarterly by the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, P.O. Box 34320, Bethesda, Md., 20034.

Editor: George Spelvin
Asst. Editor: Pat Stringham
Art Editor: Don Hester

SOME ARIO DUES ARE PAST DUE!

Those who joined ARIO in 1976 are paid up through May, 1977. If you joined in 1975, renewal dues of \$10.00 are past due. Please check your checkbook (if you joined late in 1975, prorate, if you wish). Don't abandon ship — send in your payment and stay aboard for another year of ARIO

76-7682/4

APPROPRIATE
Association of Retired Intelligence Officers

P. O. Box 34320, Bethesda, Maryland 20034 • Telephone (301) 365-0527

STAT

27 September, 1976

Mr. George Bush,
Director of Central Intelligence,
Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. Bush,

This is tardy, as I left town on a speaking trip just after our recent meeting. But I do want to thank you for taking the time to address our opening luncheon at the Second Annual Convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers. I am sure that the delegates who convened in Reston from all sections of the country are appreciative as I am. The reactions I heard were all good, except for one editorialist who I intend to speak sharply to when next I see him.

Thanks again, on behalf of all our members.

Sincerely and cordially,

David Atlee Phillips
President

STAT

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GEORGE BUSH DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON DC 20505

Ben

DEAR MR BUSH,

FROM ALL ARIO MEMBERS SINCERE THANKS FOR YOUR INFORMATIVE KEYNOTE TALK
AT OUR THURSDAY LUNCHEON STOP IT GOT OUR CONVENTION OFF TO THE START WE
NEEDED STOP DESPITE POST EDITORIAL SUNDAY YOUR CANDOR, POSITIVE
APPROACH AND WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT QUESTIONS. WAS DEEPLY APPRECIATED BY
OUR KNOWLEDGEABLE DELEGATES STOP OUR MEETINGS WENT WELL AND WE BELIEVE
ARIO CAN DO SOME WORTH WHILE THINGS STOP DAVE ON TRIP BUT WILL BE IN
TOUCH END OF WEEK STOP WILL SEND PIX AND NEXT PERISCOPE STOP FROM ALL
OF US THANKS AGAIN AND BEST WISHES

JACK COAKLEY ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

21:18 EST

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Intelligence Gathering: Insiders Meet on the Outside

STAT

By Jean M. White

If it had been the usual shop talk and reminiscence-swapping among conventioners, each overheard conversation should have been worth at least one plot idea for a thriller novel.

There in the corridors and meeting rooms of the Sheraton Inn and Conference Center in Reston, more than 200 members of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers were holding their second annual convention without cloak, dagger or cover.

Each wore a boldly lettered name tag. They welcomed interviews, held open sessions under the lights of TV cameras, and worried in public sessions about problems such as "good secrets, no-secrets and bad secrets."

But as for any idea for a thriller... the only slip came from Helen Priest Deck, former intelligence analyst, who has an epilogue and one chapter for a novel she is working on in retirement in Sudbury, Mass.: "What a story must be behind that Carlos who kidnapped the OPEC ministers..." She stopped in mid-sentence, not the former agent, but the writer protecting an idea.

"No one would expect ex-spooks and spies—we really like to consider ourselves intelligence officers—to meet in a convention like this," observed David Arlee Phillips, who was the founder of the association. It was organized two years ago, against the background of disclosures of abuses in intelligence operations by former agents who wanted to show that they were not burned-out cases of conscience but responsible people doing responsible jobs for their country.

"I realized that we had a public relations problem of some magnitude," said Phillips with wry understatement. "So we needed a public relations program of some magnitude."

"The whole mood has changed from last year," observed Hayden Estey, who once was a newspaper man before he joined the Central Intelligence Agency for a 23-year stint. "We don't have the intensity—that urgency to save a nation—of last year. It's not as lonely as it was a year ago."

"It has changed," Phillips agreed. "We're having a golf tournament this

year. Last year I couldn't have kept my eye on the ball, too nervous."

As the plot turns, Phillips, a relaxed, slightly ruffled chap, blew one 20-year-old "cover" when he appeared as an ex-agent spokesman for ARIO.

In 1956, Phillips was assigned by the CIA to Beirut under the cover of an American businessman. He moved into a flat in an apartment house shared by Dick Beeston, an English journalist, and his wife.

"Well, we went over to welcome the new couple," Beeston was reminiscing at one of the two-day conference sessions (he was covering for the London Daily Telegraph). "And my wife walked in the apartment, looked at the furniture, laughed, and said: 'Oh, I know what you are. You're a CIA man.' Dave is a former actor and he just laughed his way out of it. About a year ago we saw him on TV and my wife had been right."

It was left for Phillips to give a final twist to the story.

"I was sent over to go 'deep'—to play the role of a businessman, put the kids in school, get an apartment and establish my cover slowly. We needed furniture and I answered an advertisement in the newspaper. I bought the furniture from a man who had been on a CIA assignment, but I didn't know that. I was, in effect, buying government property."

When the Beestons left Beirut a year and a half later, Phillips still remembered Mrs. Beeston's words: "You know at first I thought you were one of those cover-boys—intelligence chaps."

The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers is really a misleading cover name, Phillips admits, and the organization has been thinking about changing it. It has more than 1,200 members, a quarter of them women. It draws its members from a broad range of skills in intelligence-gathering and analysis—the scholars, analysts, technicians and researchers who stand behind the romantic spy figure.

Some may have been with the agency a few years, others are veterans of 20 to 30 years in operations both at home and in the field. But quite a few do not fit the picture of the usual out-to-pasture retiree. Some are in business and others in academia. "What a waste of talent. Just think what they could do in a career of crime," one observer said.

ARIO has a speaker's bureau and has former agents available to address organizations from Rotary. Clubs to garden clubs and for TV or radio interviews. "You have to reverse the whole pattern of your life. Intelligence people by nature are loners, taught not to talk," observed Lawrence Sulc, who left the CIA about a year ago after more than 23 years and posts in the Far East, Latin America and Europe.

"I know I used to go to a party and if I heard that a reporter from News-

continued

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Sulc, Lawrence

PAGE A10

WASHINGTON POST
Early Ed:1

Bush Says Heat Is Off the CIA

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

CIA Director George Bush said yesterday that the intelligence community "has weathered the storm" of three years of investigation.

In remarks before a convention of former intelligence officers, Bush ticked off a list of indicators that he said showed a new national attitude favorable toward CIA.

"The mood in Congress is changed," Bush said. "No one is campaigning against strong intelligence."

The CIA director declared a new Senate Intelligence Committee, chaired by Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) is "off to a promising start."

"The adversary thing, how we can ferret out corruption, has given way to the more serious question how can we have better intelligence."

Bush also said intelligence recruiters are having a better reception on college campuses—"recruitment is up and the quality of applicants is up."

Despite praise for the new Senate committee, Bush said Congress is a continuing problem for the intelligence community.

In considering possible covert operations, Bush said, "now, weight is given to the risk of disclosure" because seven congressional committees must be informed in "timely fashion."

Bush suggested that he would limit disclosure to individual members of Congress if he had doubts that they would keep the information secret.

"If I know," Bush said, "an individual member will make intelligence information public, I am not going to give it to him."

Legislation to make it a crime for government employees to disclose intelligence sources and methods has been stalled on the Hill, Bush noted.

The director said he "had been instructed to go forward" with a previously proposed plan to have all executive department employees with access to classified information sign a statement they would not make any unauthorized disclosures.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4

4435 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 244-3540

Orig ARIO

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Today Show STATION WRC TV
NBC Network

DATE September 17, 1976 7:00 AM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Statement By Director Bush

FLOYD KALBER: Two hundred American spies are holding a convention in Reston, Virginia. They're reminiscing about exploits that were once top secret.

Yesterday, CIA Director George Bush talked with them about current developments in the espionage business, and Ford Rowan was there.

FORD ROWAN: Bush told the Retired Intelligence Officers Association that times are improving for the CIA. Bush said Congress now seems less interested in digging up the scandals of the past, and more interested in the future. He said the disclosures hurt the CIA's relations with friendly foreign intelligence services, but they're getting better now.

DIRECTOR GEORGE BUSH: The people upon whom we depend for the most cooperation around the world continue to work closely with us. But there has been a pulling back, in some way. I think it's getting better, because I think that people realize that the storm has been weathered, the changes have taken place, that they can live with the changes, that they need the U.S. to be strong, and that only if they cooperate can we be strong in this field.

ROWAN: Although a year and a half of intensive investigations into CIA wrongdoing is over, it's unlikely that the agency can ever return to the old way of operating in total secrecy. But many of the retired intelligence operatives think that things have quieted down to the point where the CIA can go about its business without constantly looking back over its shoulder.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

4435 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 244-3540

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM CBS Evening News STATION WTOP TV
CBS Network

DATE September 16, 1976 7:00 PM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT State of the CIA - *George Bush*

WALTER CRONKITE: For several years now there's been an almost steady barrage of revelations about allegedly illegal activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Well today CIA Director George Bush assured the people who spent their careers with the Agency that the worst is over.

Jim McManus reports.

JIM MCMANUS: The CIA Director told the retired intelligence officers that the backlash of severe criticism that followed Watergate and other spy shop abuses has run its course. He said even college students are once again looking toward careers in intelligence work.

CIA DIRECTOR GEORGE BUSH: I think there was some rash of proposals not so many months ago towards the dismantling of the Central Intelligence Agency. And that storm -- I don't know how serious it was -- but it has been weathered. There is not that kind of irrational discussion going on anymore.

Recruitment is up. And the cynics will say to you, you know, people will work anywhere if unemployment is seven percent or something like that. But they also have a way of measuring quality. We got experts in this personnel thing and they have a way of measuring quality. And the quality of applicants is up.

MCMANUS: Bush said worldwide publicity of intelligence community troubles hurt cooperative relationships with some foreign agencies, but even that problem is passing.

(cont.)

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CIA OPERATIONS CENTER

NEWS SERVICE

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Date. 16 Sep 76

Item No. 2

Ref. No.

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DISTRIBUTION II

UP-022

(RETIRED SPIES)

(BY DANIEL GILMORE)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- MORE THAN 200 FORMER SPOOKS ARE COMING IN FROM THE COLD AGAIN AT A NEARBY WATERING SPOT TO SWAP TALES ABOUT THEIR OLD CLOAK AND DAGGER DAYS.

THE MALE AND FEMALE SPOOKS -- A TERM APPLIED TO EMPLOYEES OF THE CIA -- ARE PART OF THE 1,200 MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS, WHICH OPENS ITS SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION TODAY.

FORMED 16 MONTHS AGO, THE ASSOCIATION ALSO INCLUDES IN ITS MEMBERSHIP FORMER AGENTS FROM THE FBI, DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY AND OTHER INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS.

THE SPOOKS OFTEN WERE HIDDEN IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL LIVES UNDER "DEEP COVER" IN WHICH THEIR TRUE ROLES WERE SOMETIMES UNKNOWN EVEN TO MEMBERS OF THEIR IMMEDIATE FAMILIES. NOW THE DELEGATES AND THEIR SPOUSES ARE OUT IN THE OPEN, EVEN WEARING LAPEL TAGS SAYING WHO THEY ARE.

CIA DIRECTOR GEORGE BUSH AND LT. GEN. SAMUEL WILSON, HEAD OF THE DIA, WILL ADDRESS THE CONVENTION, AS WILL THEIR PREDECESSORS -- WILLIAM E. COLBY AND LT. GEN. DANIEL GRAHAM.

THE TWO FORMER OFFICIALS ARE PARTICIPATING IN A SEMINAR ON "GOOD SECRETS, NONSECRETS AND BAD SECRETS," A DISCUSSION OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEDIA IN REPORTING ON INTELLIGENCE.

UPI 09-16 10:03 AED

Association of Retired Intelligence Officers

P. O. Box 34320, Bethesda, Maryland 20034 • Telephone (301) 365-0527

Welcome to the Second National Convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers. Your attendance is evidence of your belief in the concept of an effective intelligence capability for America and is deeply appreciated.

We have endeavored to provide a program which will be both interesting and informative yet still allow time for meeting old and new friends. You will receive a copy of the program along with tickets for admission to those social events you have selected. Your envelope also contains a critique sheet which we hope you will complete and return to us at the conclusion of the convention.

All delegates will be assigned to one of the convention committees. You may state your preference at the Committee Assignment Desk after you have been registered. You should consider that committee your "home base" but you are encouraged to join in with other committees during working sessions. We need your involvement in the formulation of policies and practices which will govern the conduct and public posture of ARIIO during the coming year.

ARIIO has established a temporary office in Room "H" (next to the ballroom) to handle any administrative matters for you. There is also an ARIIO Hospitality Room in Suite 220-2 where you can meet with friends in a private atmosphere. The Hospitality Room will offer a limited self-service bar run on the honor system-- fifty cents per drink donation. Your program indicates those times when the Suite will be open. Changes will be announced if required.

There will be media representatives present during the convention except for business sessions. Mr. Hayden Estey is responsible for media liaison and should be contacted if you have any questions.

Mr. John Muldoon is responsible for convention security and will be available to assist you in other matters as well. Those interested in the Friday ARIIO Golf Tournament should contact Mr. Herbert Hudson through the convention office. If you are interested in tennis competition, please check in with Mr. Earle Sears. LTC (Ret) John J. ("Jack") Coakley is responsible for the overall convention activities and can be reached at the ARIIO office in Room "H".

Many of you have travelled from afar and many delegates are relatively new in ARIIO. This convention offers an excellent opportunity to meet the members of the Board of Governors, the ARIIO officers and your colleagues residing in the Washington area. The different perspective you can provide will be most helpful.

This series of meetings will be a watershed event for ARIIO. We welcome your participation in charting our course for the future. We hope to accomplish much in these two days and--most of all--we want you to have a good time! Again, our thanks for coming.

1976 ARIIO Convention Committee

OPOL ARIO

file

WEDNESDAY-- SEPTEMBER 15th , 1974

1430-2400

Out-of-town members staying at the Sheraton Inn arrive.
 ARIO Convention Office in Room H will be open.
 ARIO Hospitality Room in Suite 220-2 will be open.

THURSDAY-- SEPTEMBER 16th

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 0930-1200 | MAIN LOBBY Registration of Delegates. (Coffee and Danish provided.) |
| 1045-1200 | POOLSIDE (weather permitting) or room to be designated. Cash Bar available. |
| 1200-1345 | ROOMS "B"&"C" Keynote Luncheon (Salmon color ticket) Speaker: Mr. George Bush, Director of Central Intelligence Topic: "DCI's View--Fall of '76" Mr. Bush will answer questions from Delegates after his talk. |
| 1345-1410 | Break |
| 1410-1500 | ROOMS "B"&"C" Opening Session. All Delegates. Presiding: Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr., Chairman, ARIO Board of Governors. Subject: Reports from the President, Treasurer and last year's Committees. Orientation on this year's convention. |
| 1500-1515 | Break Coffee and soft drinks provided |
| 1515-1615 | ROOM "A" Panel Discussion. All Delegates. Topic: "Good Secrets, Bad Secrets and Non-secrets" Panel: ARIO members William E. Colby and LTG (Ret) Daniel O. Graham. Mr. Walter Pincus of The Washington Post and Charles Bartlett, syndicated columnist. Moderator: Erwin N. Griswold, former Solicitor General and former Dean of Harvard Law School. |
| 1615-1715 | ROOMS "B"&"C" Committee Meetings. |
| 1715-1800 | Open Time |
| 1800-2000 | Cocktail Buffet. (Green ticket) Complimentary affair for those who have paid Convention Fee. |
| 2000-2400 | Open Time ARIO Hospitality Room will be open. |

FRIDAY-- SEPTEMBER 17th

0730- ARIO Golf and Tennis Tournaments

0845-0900 Coffee and Danish provided

0900-1000 ROOMS "B"&"C"
Committee Meetings

1000-1015 Break. Coffee and Danish provided

1015-1130 ROOM "A"
General Business Session. All Delegates.
Presiding: Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr.
Subject: "Whither ARIO?" Reports and discussion on future goals
and objectives.

1130-1200 Cash Bar available

1200-1345 ROOMS "B"&"C"
Luncheon (White ticket)
Speaker: LTG Samuel V. Wilson, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
Topic: "Intelligence and the Tricentennial"
LTG Wilson will answer questions after his talk.

1345-1400 Break

1400-1450 ROOM "A"
Panel Discussion. All Delegates.
Topic: "The Role of Congress in Intelligence Oversight"
Senator Charles Mc. Mathias (R-MD) will join selected ARIO members
in a panel responding to questions from the Delegates.

1450-1500 Break. Coffee and soft drinks provided.

1500-1600 ROOM "A"
Seminar. All Delegates.
Topic: "The Intelligence Product and Foreign Policy Decisions"
Speaker: Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department,
Department of State
Mr. Sonnenfeldt has suggested that his talk be brief to permit
questions from the Delegates.

1600-1700 ROOM "A"
General Session. All Delegates.
Presiding: Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr.
Subject: 1976 Committee Reports. Association business matters.
Election of the Board of Governors. Remarks from the
Chairman.

1700-1800 Open Time

1800-2000 Cocktails---Cash Bar

2000- Closing Dinner. Separate Program will be provided.
(Dress informal)

This is a suggested release for submission to your local newspaper(s). A personal visit is usually more effective than mail.

Retype, double-spaced and insert your name, home town and organization where indicated. Do not submit a xerox or carbon copy.

Release: On Receipt

Contact: Your name
Address
Phone

The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency had some good news and some bad news for a group of former intelligence officers recently. On balance, however, the optimistic view prevailed.

In the keynote address before the second annual convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO) held near Washington, D.C., George Bush, Director of Central Intelligence, disclosed that three years of investigation had had a depressing effect on cooperation by a few foreign agencies, but, he stressed the intelligence community had "weathered the storm" and relations were rapidly returning to normalcy.

Bush, a former Congressman, said that "the mood in Congress is changed....no one is campaigning against strong intelligence."

Further, he pointed out, there was reason to believe that the new Senate Intelligence Committee chaired by Daniel K. Inouye

- 2 -

of Hawaii, is "off to a promising start." He added that "the adversary thing...has given way to a more serious question of how we can have better intelligence."

Among other indicators giving rise to optimism, Bush mentioned more cordial reception on college campuses; recruitment and the quality of applicants "is up."

Bush is concerned, however, that legislation to make it a crime for government employees to disclose intelligence sources and methods is stalled on the Hill.

Walter Pincus, who frequently writes on intelligence subjects for the Washington Post, conceded at a later symposium that "there is a definite need to keep some secrets."

The implementation of the new Executive Order on intelligence is proceeding smoothly, Bush reported. He expects that the ultimate result will be to provide the nation with a more effective intelligence effort and capability.

(Your name) of (hometown), an ARIO member who served with the (your intelligence agency) explained that the organization was formed in 1975 when he and his colleagues became alarmed at the one-sided view of intelligence that was being presented to the public. Although there were some abuses, "we who were familiar with the true picture, felt that it was necessary that the people of this country get a more balanced perspective of our intelligence activities." (your last name) said,

All former officers of any of the intelligence services, including the military and appropriate civilian and police agencies, are eligible for membership. Further information may be obtained by writing to ARIQ, P.O. Box 34320, Bethesda, MD 20034.

Approved For Release 2005/12/14 :

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27 July 1976

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Has expanded to this?

Dave Phillips, of ARIO, called me late yesterday to remind us that the Director has agreed to address the Organization's second annual convention in September. Dave now would like to firm up the arrangements.

The talk is scheduled for the luncheon on Thursday, 16 September, at the Reston Convention Center. Will you get in touch with Dave? (He has requested a photo of the Director, and we have sent it.)

STAT

Dave's phone number is

STAT

DA/DCI

~~Yes~~ We still owe
the DCF some
notes for his letter

~~STAT~~



27 July 1976

STAT



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Dave's phone number is

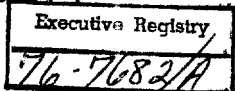


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DA/DCI

STAT



9 APR 1976

Mr. David A. Phillips
ARIO
P. O. Box 34320
Bethesda, MD 20034

Dear Mr. Phillips,

Thank you for your kind invitation of April 6.
Needless to say, I shall be delighted to give the keynote
address at your luncheon on Thursday, September 16.

It's good news to hear that you are anticipating
an even stronger turn-out this year than you did last.

Please get in touch with your old colleague, Angus
Thuermer, on [redacted] and square away the details.

Sincerely,

/s/ George Bush
George Bush
Director

[redacted] (4/8/76)

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1-ER
1-A/DCI

APR 9 2 00 PM '76

EB

APR 15 2 00 PM '76

EB

76-7682

Association of Retired Intelligence Officers

P. O. Box 34320, Bethesda, Maryland 20034 • Telephone (301) 365-0527

6 April 1976

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Col. Walter S. Hammond, USAF (Ret)
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E. Barbara Storer
V. Adm. Rufus Taylor, USN (Ret.)

Mr. Goerge Bush

Director

Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

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Col. George R. Weinbrenner, USAF (Ret.)
Vice President
John R. Cassidy, Treasurer
Phyllis Beach, Secretary

Dear Mr. Bush,

On 16 and 17 September, 1976, The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO) will hold its second annual convention at the Sheraton Convention complex in Reston, Virginia.

At our meeting last year we had 170 delegates from all parts of the country out of our then 320 members. We now have more than 800 members, and expect a considerably larger turnout.

Would you be kind enough to address our group with the keynote address at a luncheon on Thursday, 16 September? The theme of our reunion will be The Future of American Intelligence.

The membership of ARIO is comprised of former intelligence people from all services; the majority were in CIA. I can assure you they would be pleased to hear you speak.

Thank you for any consideration,

Sincerely and cordially,

David Atlee Phillips
President

STAT

Advisory Committee:

Henry F. Connor
Hayden Estey
Samuel Halpern
John R. Horton
Arthur L. Jacobs
Wallace A. Mills
Ruth G. Olson
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Activities Committee:

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Col. O'Wighton Delk Simpson USAF (Ret.)
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Stuyvesant Wainwright, II
Fred R. Youngblood, Jr.

Florida Chapter:

Alexander J. Zeffer, Miami

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ARIO

PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

VOL. II, NO. 2, MAY 1976

INTELLIGENCE IN THE YEAR 2000

By William E. Colby

A straight line projection of the scope, precision and importance of intelligence from 1947 (the date modern American intelligence began) to 1976 shows constant improvement in our knowledge of the world. Our surprise at the German V-2 rocket, the Sputnik and China's atom explosion has been replaced by precise counts of deployed Soviet ICBM's, detailed discussions of the order of battle on the Sino-Soviet border and negotiations for the limitation of weapons systems which are still in the research and test stage.

Even a straight line projection of this degree of improvement inspires modesty in predicting intelligence techniques in the year 2000. It is plain, however, that technological improvement is rapidly accelerating, so that changes are apt to be even greater than we project, and as startling to our generation as the advent of space technology was to the generation of 1947.

A few "science fiction" thoughts can illustrate this: constant visual surveillance of all areas of the globe despite weather, darkness or camouflage; instant translation of electrical or oral public communications anywhere in the world; electronic sensors searching out and distinguishing dangerous concentrations of metals, chemicals and organic substances.

Impressive as these changes might be, those in the analytic field and in the role of intelligence in future decision-making will outshine them. We have barely begun to bring the "two cultures" of science and the arts into alliance. Our intellectuals and philosophers will lose their fear of technology through its help to precision, discipline and reduced drudgery in their fields. Our scientists and technicians will accept the finite quality of machinery and find fulfillment in providing new platforms for the human mind.

Welded, these two faculties can open new paths in the exploitation and use to which the spate of information can be put to conjoin the values, forces and factors of seemingly unconnected disciplines and thereby give form to nascent concepts. Intelligence is the key to the unknown.

The possible variations of the unknown factors are the yeast of the bread of foreign policy and, properly handled, intelligence in the year 2000 will provide that yeast.

An informed nation will be alerted to the dangers ahead. It will, given the information, be able to negotiate rather than have to fight. Truly,

world away from lethal conflict and down the road of amicable resolution of mankind's squabbles.

(This is the first in a series on the vital aspects of intelligence by known authorities. In the next issue: Lieutenant General Daniel Graham, former Director, DIA, and now Research Professor, University of Miami, Department of Advanced International Studies.)

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Second National Convention of ARIO will be held September 16 and 17 at the Sheraton Inn and Convention Center in Reston, Virginia, (just outside Washington, D.C.). Please note the date and put your best foot forward in your operational planning. The word Convention means "a coming together" and that is what we hope for and expect of you. We have grown far beyond expectation in our first year and all of us need to see you and to hear your voice.

Our first annual Convention in September 1975 was remarkable. With fewer than 300 members, we had 170 delegates to participate in the business sessions and there were some 250 plates at the closing banquet. We have grown beyond that. It was a nice start. In one year ARIO has established itself as a respected institution, not merely a "blind defender" of the intelligence community, but as an experienced and mature voice for those who believe that a nation needs ears and eyes to protect itself.

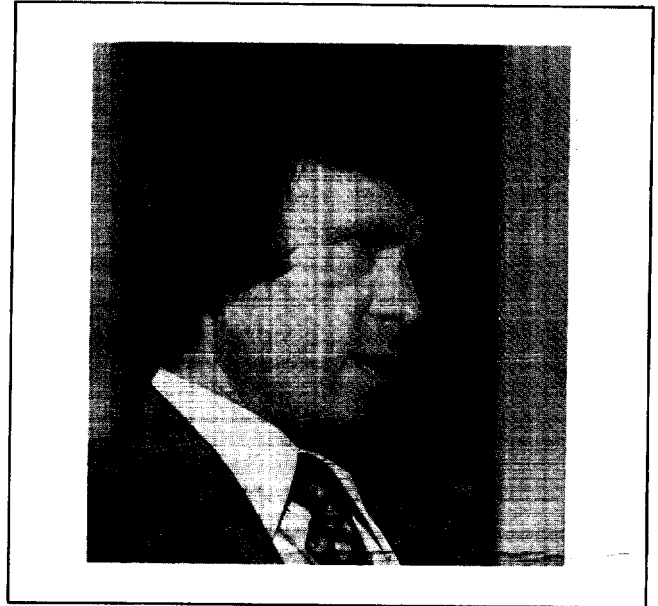
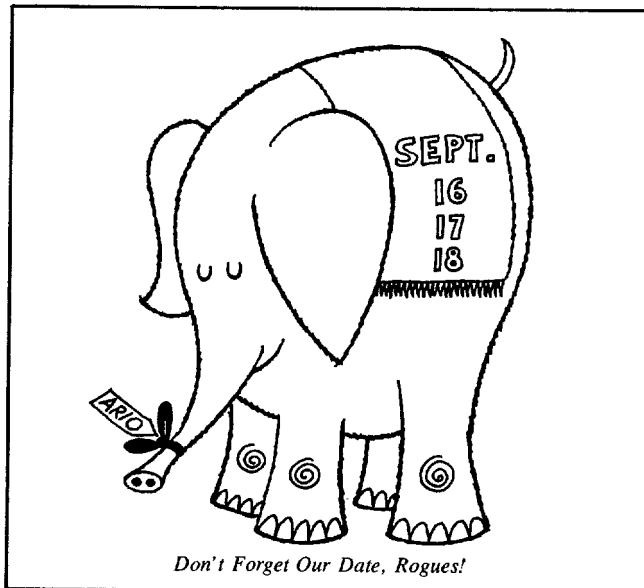
The forthcoming Convention will provide the best information on the state of affairs given by senior government officials and you will be able to question them. There is the possibility that President Ford might give us a major speech on national security. However, this is election year and we are not yet sure. At all events, we are certain that our request is "being carried forward," and that failing the President we shall have a speaker of authority.

Director of Central Intelligence, George Bush, has kindly agreed to give the keynote address at our opening luncheon on September 16. The Department of State will also provide a senior speaker for one of our seminars. We hope to have a member of Congress address us on the matter of congressional oversight, and we have asked the news "estate" to

(Continued on page 2)

provide a speaker to give its views on the intelligence community.

Your comments and suggestions are welcome. Additional information will be sent in June, and final reservations will be called for in the August mailing. Please help by letting us know as soon as possible that you will attend.



His name is said to be Hendryx John. Who is he? Our media friends report that he uses this name in radio and other public appearances and claims to be a former CIA officer. He also is said to use ARIQ President Dave Phillips's name as a source for his wild assertions about intelligence. Phillips does not know him. Do you?

SENATE COMMITTEE STAFF DIRECTOR ADDRESSES ARIQ IN WASHINGTON

William G. Miller, Staff Director of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, was the speaker April 29th at a luncheon meeting of Washington-area ARIQ members.

Miller, in his first public appearance since the April 26 release of the Church Committee's Final Report on Foreign and Military Intelligence, addressed 150 members, guests and media representatives. The scene was a twist on the intelligence happenings of recent months — instead of a lone intelligence officer testifying before a group of congressional inquisitors, the Senate Committee staffer faced intelligence veterans from CIA, the Department of Defense and other security agencies. The speech was followed by a question-and-answer period.

Miller acknowledged a change in his personal perception of the need for intelligence operations after working for more than 15 months during the Senate probe. He congratulated ARIQ members on their years of service, and recounted the historical circumstances in which many intelligence operations today considered controversial were launched. Emphasizing that U.S. Presidents and Congressional leaders had on occasion shared responsibility for

excesses, Miller characterized major errors of the past as "national mistakes." At the same time, he was candid in describing the conviction of many in Congress that in the future U.S. intelligence operations must be subject to strict Congressional control and scrutiny.

During the question-and-answer period Miller concurred in the thesis put forward by an ARIQ member that long-range education of the American public on the role of intelligence is vital to the survival of intelligence.

In describing the climate of the early 1950's when U.S. covert and psychological operations were accepted as necessary, Miller quoted from the introduction of the 1954 Second Hoover Commission Report (the Doolittle Report):

"As long as it remains national policy, another important requirement is an aggressive covert psychological, political and paramilitary organization more effective, more unique, and if necessary, more ruthless than that employed by the enemy. No one should be permitted to stand in the way of the prompt, efficient and secure accomplishment of this mission."

By Douglas S. Blaufarb

"The tumult and the shouting dies: The captains and the kings depart: Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice, An humble and a contrite heart." Kipling struck to the heart of my humble remarks.

The tumult and the shouting on Capitol Hill dwindle. Senators and Congressmen — as our President David Atlee Phillips recently said — have returned from their recess with the knowledge that the voters have been convinced that the assault on our country's intelligence has gone too far. No doubt that the murder of Dick Welch had something to do with the turning of the tide, but the public seems to have understood that the jejune convolutions of the Fifth Estate, Senator Church's mouthings about the CIA "rogue elephant" and the fumbling, clownish emanations from Pike's Pique have fallen, tired and wan, on the ears of people who are more interested in America than in some flimsy election.

There seems to be some hope of legislation which would make it less of a lark to leak sensitive information to the media.

ARIO came into being in the midst of the popularized hysteria with the aim of injecting reason into a most serious and vitally important sector, intelligence. ARIO came into being partly because of this hysteria. ARIO's purpose is easy to understand. It aims at educating the public by giving it fact and not James Bond fiction. It aims at building public understanding and acceptance of the fact that an efficient intelligence organization can spell the difference between disaster or survival. Mystification and ignorance will not do the job.

We, of ARIO, number but a scant few hundred of dedicated men and women from all the services — Army, Navy, Air Force, DIA, Coast Guard and others — but, we believe that ignorance and mystification cannot serve the nation.

There is much to be done, and we must give serious thought to how we can be most effective. The purpose of these words is to outline the ideas of some of our fellow members. They are the result of many hours of discussion by our committees and by active members across the country. The matter is a serious one, affecting not an organization called ARIO, as such, but the welfare of us all. We urge you to give the matter your most earnest consideration. ARIO needs your ideas and comments because out of them will come the decisions to be made at this year's Convention.

To be realistic, the first concern is that of funds. Bonaparte said that an army marches on its stomach. The corollary is that an organization marches on funds. If the ideas now aborning are to be implemented we shall need the means to do that. Most of the ideas presented here will need money for services, a paid staff, facilities and so on. It is heartening to reflect that our membership has more than doubled in the last few months. It is growing steadily. But beyond that we must consider other means of fund raising. Among the suggestions being examined are these: the hiring of professional help; the appointment of a committee of members to conduct

a fund raising campaign; the setting up a Special Projects Fund.

Organizationally, we hope that before our second year is out membership contributions will be enough to support a small office at headquarters with a full-time secretary/admin person and an executive director. If members agree, we would also like to organize several regional chapters.

As to activities, there is no shortage of ideas — only of money and time. In Washington we had on April 29, the first of a regular series of luncheon meetings featuring a prominent speaker (Bill Miller, Chief of Staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence). The purpose is to maintain membership interest, to educate ourselves and to generate publicity. A more ambitious suggestion is for an annual or semi-annual seminar covering a specific aspect of intelligence with prominent participants from academia, the foundations and research institutions as well as from ARIO. There would be prepared papers and recorded discussion resulting in media articles and even a book.

Another proposal which seems to have general approval here is the publication of a quarterly journal on intelligence, like CIA's *Studies in Intelligence*. It would include historical materials, book reviews, analyses of current issues and discussion of some of the perennial problems of our profession, both civilian and military. It would also be a medium for the publication of material generated by the above-described seminar.

We are also considering an annual award for outstanding service to the intelligence profession. The first such award, if membership response is favorable, could be made at the next Convention.

Finally, we are considering study programs in colleges and universities. One such program, developed by an ARIO member, is under study at a community college in the Washington area. Betty McIntosh, OSS and CIA retiree and author of *Undercover Girl*, is developing a general approach for ARIO. When we have her proposals, we shall have to decide how to organize the program. One of ARIO's goals is to create a desire in bright young Americans to join the intelligence profession as a stimulating and worthwhile career.

These are some of the ideas being considered. We need your comments and ideas.

OBITUARY

We regret to report the death in March of Tom Dale. His intelligence career spanned 28 years, first in the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps, and ending with his retirement from CIA in 1973. He was a fine intelligence officer. His knowledge of international politics and his wise counsel shall be missed. Tom was a charter member of ARIO.

OF ROGUE MICE AND MEN

By David Atlee Phillips

The debate over this country's clandestine operations has reached its climax in a high tide of confusion — with the wreckage of these activities strewn over the Washington landscape and on many foreign shores as well. Some criticisms of the seamy side of our intelligence agency's behavior have been deserved. Others are ill-founded but sincere. Regrettably, a small minority seem to be the product of deliberate obfuscation.

While Congress ponders a resolution of the dilemma secret foreign operations pose for a democracy, Americans on the sidelines find the issues being obscured — if not lost — in an esoteric jargon borrowed by Congress and the media from the intelligence subculture. As with most trade talk, such phrases as *clandestine operations*, *covert action*, and *black box* are highly technical and have developed nuances not easily inferred from the words themselves.

For the man on the street, confusion usually begins with what the clandestine service does. It basically does two things:

- Collects intelligence needed by policy-makers to formulate policy.
- Undertakes programs to assist policy-makers in carrying out policy.

We can call the first "espionage" and the second "covert action." Both involve the use of clandestine operations. Espionage seeks information important to the United States Government which some foreign entity wishes to keep secret. Covert action endeavors to persuade a foreign entity to take an action or to refrain from an action. Circumstances and the nature of the persuasion preclude its attribution to the United States Government. Propaganda in its many shades of "grey" (that is, degrees of concealment of sponsorship) may accomplish the objective. Secret agents dealing directly with individuals in a position of influence are more likely to.

Strictly speaking, paramilitary operations should not be classified under covert action. They relate to covert action as war compares to diplomacy. Paramilitary endeavors belie sooner or later the one condition essential to covert action, secrecy, and flout the old maxim that one should not attempt to cover a hippopotamus with a handkerchief.

The funding of foreign political parties, however, should be considered a covert action even though it is difficult to maintain secrecy in such a passionate milieu. Usually the passage of money is arranged through a "black box" operation, i.e., a secret, under-the-table transaction.

Some critics have contended that the United States Government should not be ashamed to support democratic parties and, therefore, should fund deserving foreign parties openly. Although refreshingly straightforward, this approach overlooks one reality. The beneficiaries of such aid would be the first to insist that it be given discreetly. It would be political suicide for them to accept foreign assistance, just as it would be for a party in this country to do so. (On the other hand, handsome subsidies given by the Soviets to Communist opposition parties surreptitiously are accepted as a fact of life by nearly every-

concerned.)

Others condemn clandestine operations as immoral in principle and illegal in practice. This attitude naively sidesteps the problems of existing and, indeed, surviving in a world whose history continues to be determined by nations promoting their own interests at whatever expense to others — the League of Nations, United Nations, and similar laudable endeavors notwithstanding. More to the point, they would have the United States, blindfolded and with one hand tied behind its back, compete in the international arena under rules of engagement which, at best, are minimal and flexible. This grim state of affairs is not likely to improve much in our time nor, for that matter, in our children's or grandchildren's. Until it does, the nations of the world will continue to insist on their sovereign right to defend and advance their interests through clandestine operations, restricting any question of immorality or illegality to cases uncovered within their own national boundaries.

Many try to establish legal distinction between covert action and intelligence collections. Under the criterion, covert action is objectionable because it involves "dirty tricks"; intelligence, on the other hand, *can be* collected "innocently" and "decently." Their argument usually rests on one of two premises, both of them false. The first views intelligence collection as a passive and remote activity subjecting the United States to less involvement than covert action. The second claims that, since most intelligence comes from open publications, the residue from such clandestine sources as spies could be sacrificed without harm.

The notion that intelligence collection is inoffensive when it is passive assumes the use of "black boxes" (i.e., inanimate technical methods of spying) and precludes the employment of secret agents. Satellite snooping is the most strikingly effective example of the black box approach. But remote spying by satellite is basically no different from the means employed in Francis Gary Powers' ill-fated U-2 flight over the Soviet Union. The Soviets tolerate our satellite observation of their secret installations because, as with all the U-2 flights that preceded Powers', they have no way of stopping it. They will not allow, for example, a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft to overfly their territory to perform precisely the same task as the orbiting satellite.

The contention that most intelligence is gleaned by diligent, skilled analysts from overt sources, such as the press and technical journals, begs the question. Intelligence analysts, of course, must be quite familiar with what appears in the open literature in their field of competence. Their task is to begin from that point in order to distinguish what unknowns remain to be collected by clandestine means, black boxes or agents. At this juncture, they frequently get into the most vital and difficult aspect of intelligence: secret intentions and plans not readily deducible from the evidence at hand. Thus, intelligence analysts do require and utilize information from clandestine sources. This "protected information," as it is called in the espionage business, is an essential component of the analyst's intelligence product.

The debate can be reduced to these terms then:

- If we consider it important to this country to have an adequate intelligence capability, we must recognize

- If we feel as a nation we can accept some clandestine means, such as espionage, but not others, such as covert action, at least our rationale should be clear.
- If we decide that covert action is wrong because it constitutes meddling in other people's affairs, we should re-examine not only our intelligence activities but our entire foreign policy, our foreign aid program, and our tariff policies (to mention only a few examples) because any aspect of each of these can have a profound effect on the internal affairs of any number of countries and very often is designed to have just such an effect.

To put it another way, the CIA is only one instrument of a United States foreign policy grounded on what Karl Marx identified as *realpolitik*, "politics based on the realities of national interest." One may argue whether or not the United States should practice *realpolitik*. The fact is that every other nation on the globe does. *Realpolitik* is the practical acknowledgement that, undesirable as it may be, there are relatively few recognized and no enforceable international laws. *Realpolitik* refuses to concede that one nation can be bound by the laws of another, so legality is not at issue in *realpolitik*. (But even *realpolitikers* acknowledge that officials and citizens of a country should abide by their own national laws. No one, CIA or otherwise, should be allowed to violate the laws of the United States. This is a point on which everyone must agree with CIA's critics on domestic operations and related issues.)

In the final analysis, even while disagreeing with its critics, CIA can concede that they have raised valid issues, most of which are overdue an examination. It really comes down to the fact that if clandestine operations are worth continuing, they should be defensible and capable of absorbing reasonable modifications without any serious loss in effectiveness.

What CIA cannot cope with is the calculated leak involving protected information or secret operations. The leak is a Washington phenomenon which has long been taken for granted. It has been encouraged in recent times by a press seeking, in the Watergate tradition, to be vigilant of the country's welfare — depending on how one interprets the First Amendment. It may or may not take place outside the law, but in instances involving CIA activities, it frequently has a direct impact on foreign policy, not to speak of clandestine operations, personnel, and agents. In essence, one man — anonymous to the public and his peers — decides to pursue a course which influences, for good or ill, the country's foreign policy. He takes on this rather awesome responsibility alone while carefully evading accountability to anyone else for this action.

If there is a rogue elephant loose in Washington, surely it is the leaker and *not* an organization as large and subject to direction as CIA. A rogue mouse? Maybe.



Captain Ralph E. Duncan (AUS, Ret.)

Captain Ralph E. Duncan is the newest recruit to the ranks of ARIО. We bow to his boundless energy and enthusiasm. Our "rookie" says, "my military service began in 1916 as an infantry soldier in a Federalized Guard Regiment during the Mexican Border trouble." Commissioned from the ranks in 1918, he went on to become Captain in the Military Intelligence Corps years before Lindbergh flew the Atlantic. He worked in counter-intelligence under the late Colonel William B. Graham, G-2, VI Corps Hqtrs., Chicago. In his letter asking for membership, Capt. Duncan told us that he had worked also in cryptanalysis. That was in the days before the War Department became the Department of Defense. He is a member of the Military Order of World Wars, and a member of the American Security Council. Now in his 85th year, our good member remains a busy man. He is Vice-President of the Colorado Minerals Corporation. In his letter Capt. Duncan touchingly and poignantly ended by asking, "Is there a place for me in ARIО?" ARIО's answer is, "Yes, Captain, there is always room for men like you."

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

A battle is not won till it has been lost. On Capitol Hill and elsewhere there seem to be some glimmering of understanding of the importance intelligence plays in the formulation of policy. However, despite the more favorable trend in recent weeks, let us not be over-optimistic. There is a long way to go and much hard work remains to be done. When Dave Phillips launched ARIО a year ago, we were embattled. Today, there is hope. Let us keep our guard up. Men such as Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Congressmen Charles B. Rangel, New York, and John H. Buchanan, Alabama, plainly agree. Mathias said on the subject of the

(Continued on page 6)

power to ensure that the security and integrity of our intelligence officers will be preserved." Rangel said, "If the United States is going to rely on the work of intelligence officers to protect our foreign interests, we should make absolutely certain that these officers' identity is kept as secret as possible." Buchanan hit the nail on the head with "The regular activities of the KGB, for example, are far more extensive than the operations of the two agencies (CIA and FBI) of the United States combined, and actions of that Russian agency would make any action taken by ours look unaggressive by comparison." So, we are not alone. We have intelligent and influential allies. Let us try to keep up a good head of steam and give them and those who agree with them all the help we can.

Some members have asked what their stance should be when writing or speaking on behalf of ARIО. Our membership brochure says "a Member may not speak in the name of ARIО without approval." That means that what you say or write is your opinion or feeling and not that of the Association. Certainly, speak out, identify yourself as a Member, but make sure it is understood that what you say is your view and not that of ARIО.

Speaker-Writer Kits — the request for kits has been great and we are delighted. The fiscal truth is that it costs nearly three dollars to produce a kit. We have no complaint. All we ask you is to tell us to what use you have put the material. We really do need this information. To whom did you speak? To whom did you write? If there was press coverage (and pictures), let us have the facts. Please do this. So much good material goes a-begging for lack of background.

A new **Membership Directory** is due in June. Please let us know how you want to be listed. This is most important for our military members who may, or may not, wish to have grade or service shown. Some, who initially wanted to keep their name out of the directory, may now see no objection to being known as a member of ARIО.

Chapters — given our rapidly increasing number of members, we should give thought to the organization of chapters, regionally or by state. In California, for instance, we have more than enough members to form a southwestern chapter (thanks to the dynamism of **Lee Echols** and **Carl Eifler**). **Helen Priest Deck** is working on a New England chapter and another member is interested in doing the same in Georgia. Let us work on this. The forthcoming directory will give you the names of people to contact. If you are willing to organize a chapter please do not fail to give us your ideas. We shall give you the names of possible contacts.

FLORIDA ARIО MEMBERS NOTE

There will be a luncheon-reunion of the Florida Chapter of ARIО on June 4, 1976, at or in the vicinity of Fort Meyer. ARIО President Dave Phillips will be the speaker. Florida members will receive details in a letter from Alex Zeffer shortly. Mark the date, and come!

In Harry Rositzke's essay (*Periscope*, March 1976) are implications that bother me. I do not consider it sound to lump indiscriminately the functions of the CIA with those of the DCI (Director of Central Intelligence) simply because the latter is ex-officio, "head" of the former. In my opinion, it was clearly the intent of the Congress to create separate functions and, initially, separate functionaries when, in the National Security Act of 1947, it drew the distinction between the duties of the CIA as an Agency and those of the DCI as such. Nonetheless, Congress decided on one functionary, the DCI, to hold both functions.

I believe that the DCI should be a separate functionary from the chief of the CIA and should be legally constituted a Cabinet Officer, responsible and reporting directly to the President. Further, I think he should be a member by law of the National Security Council. In addition to his present functions as described in Sections 102(d), (3) and 102(e) of the National Security Act, the DCI should have transferred to him alone those duties now assigned to the CIA in Sections 102(d), (1) and (2) of that Act.

I would agree with Harry Rositzke that para-military operations ought to be under the Department of Defense.

I also agree with John Hart that there is no ideal or simple solution to the problem of reorganization of the Intelligence Community though I deplore the President's plan because it does nothing that could not have been done just as easily without it.

Because of the valuable inter-relationship of collection, overt or covert, to the production of "finished intelligence" those two functions should be kept as close as feasible. Similarly, espionage and counter-espionage can, in my opinion, be separated only to the detriment of both.

Thus, I argue that only the para-military could be sliced out of the pie without harm.

What about Estimates? That aspect of finished intelligence seems to have been neglected so far. I believe that our former Board of National Estimates was founded on a sound concept. I urge that it be restored, under a "separate" DCI and protected from demands for short-range "Appreciations" of pressing immediacy. Such efforts should be assigned by a "separate" DCI to the "Finished" intelligence producer.

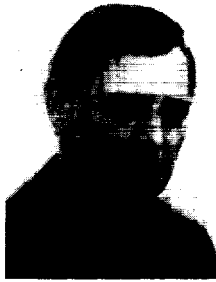
Give my proposed separate DCI a small administrative staff, an Inspector General with a small staff together with knowledgeable help from the Bureau of the Budget, and I think we could get the show back on the road.

V. Adm. Rufus L. Taylor (USN, Ret.)

* * * * *

(*Periscope* welcomes letters from readers. All letters must be signed, but those who wish may use initials or a pseudonym. Letters may be edited for reasons of space or clarity.)

The steady growth in ARIО membership is encouraging. Newcomers cover the spectrum of American society: Carl Eifler in California is responsible for recruiting the first priest to be a member; another is now a staff assistant in Congress; others have worked for the Department of Justice, Department of State and just about every other government agency with an intelligence arm. As you will note elsewhere in *Periscope*, some of our new members have really been far out in their careers — in space. It is a pleasure to tell you that among our newest members we can now count the names of three men who know what space is, the astronauts: Captain James Lovell (USN, Ret.), Rear-Admiral Alan B. Shepard (USN, Ret.), and Eugene Cernan.



The enthusiastic support for ARIО is evident in an increasing number of former U.S. Military members. As a whilom staff sergeant, I'm glad to be reminded that rank in an intelligence service, whether civilian or military, is not a consideration for ARIО membership. And I certainly am impressed by the seniority of several of the new members. So many two and three-star generals; the latest, I'm glad to say, Lieutenant General Danny Graham, recent head of DIA.

On the 13th of April, Board of Governors member Dr. Ray Cline arranged for me to speak to his former O.S.S. colleagues who have an association in New York known as V.S.S. Ray traveled with me, to make the introduction. Several new members joined ARIО as a result, augmenting the large number of ex-O.S.S. people already aboard. During the question-and-answer period it was suggested that as the V.S.S. is by nature an organization of limited life span it would seem reasonable that it merge with ARIО. I would welcome such an arrangement should the V.S.S. members think it a good idea, and if ARIО members approve.

I am still traveling around the country. Recently, it has become more comfortable making a speech defending intelligence. As late as February, when I spoke at the University of Rochester, a handbill was distributed which read, "Despite his benign appearance, Phillips is really a murderous thug in the employ of Wall Street," and there was heckling during the speech. But, on April 8th I spoke to an attentive and responsive audience at DePaul Univer-

sity in Chicago — the students wanted discussion, not confrontation.

From Chicago, I flew to Louisville, Kentucky, to give a speech that evening. Victor Marchetti was speaking elsewhere in town the same night. The day before, a third retired intelligence officer had spoken in Louisville — Bill Colby. The good guys were in the majority for the first time since the current intelligence controversy began!

Speaking of Marchetti, I debated with him on television in Philadelphia in late February. I was surprised that he agreed to the joint appearance, as he previously declined my challenge to a series of college campus debates. Before the telecast, Marchetti was curious as to whether I intended to give him a hard time during the program because of his support of The Fifth Estate, the Washington cabal which publishes *Counterspy*. I told him I sure as hell did plan to castigate him on-camera, and would do so everywhere in the future as long as he was associated with the moral primitives who identify American intelligence operators abroad. On the television show Marchetti — to his credit — publicly dissociated himself from The Fifth Estate.

The most recent issue of *Counterspy* continues its sordid practice of naming alleged CIA people abroad. And it contains an article entitled "The Man From ARIО", which suggests that Congress should investigate ARIО on the possibility our organization might be a U.S. Government operation. I have testified in the Senate, under oath, that neither I, nor ARIО, are connected with any government agency. I would welcome the opportunity to repeat this testimony — the next time along with members of The Fifth Estate so they can answer questions about *their* connections.

As I said, things are a bit easier. In numerous television and radio appearances in the past ten months I learned to expect the first two questions would inevitably concern Chile and assassination. In Chicago, the local ABC affiliate filmed a spot. The interviewer told me before the cameras rolled he intended to ask me only two questions. I speculated as to which would be first, assassination or Chile.

Sure enough, the first question was about assassination. But then came the second: "We've heard a lot about one subject lately from President Ford, Kissinger, and Ronald Reagan. What about intelligence people? How do they feel about detente?"

You see, things are getting better.

ON THE BROW OF THE HILL

In an emotional House, Representative James H. Quillen (R. Tenn.) rose on July 16, 1975, to lead the fight against a resolution to replace the existing Select Committee with a new one. What he did took courage because he was swimming against the tide of near-hysteria. What he said came as a shock to many. Deeply troubled by the leaks of sensitive intelligence information, Quillen called for the abolition of the old Committee and then urged that it not be replaced.

"The American people have lost confidence," he averred and proposed that the House should exercise restraint and

wait until the Senate Select Committee had completed its work. There would be time enough for the House to act. Quillen's fellow Tennessean, Robin Beard, went further. Caustically, he said "... the only protection that remains for the CIA is to protect it from this House."

Predictably, the Quillen amendment failed by two to one and the Pike Committee was in business. Basic to all this was the question of whether the House, as constituted, could be entrusted with classified information. The answer came six months later.

(Continued on page 8)

In January 1976, the Pike Committee decided to violate its agreement with the President not to make public the sensitive information contained in its report. The Rules Committee was against the Pike Committee, and once again Quillen led the fight. On January 29, the House sustained the Rules Committee and beat back the Pike thrust.

The shift from July to January was dramatic. The record of the Pike Committee — the leaks which Quillen and Beard had foreseen, added to the Committee's repudiation of its agreement with the White House — were too much, even for the Congressional stomach. The reaction was strong. The vote against release of the Pike report was 246 to 124. Our correspondent on the Hill reported that "Pike stood in shocked disbelief as the electronic scoreboard toted up the vote."

Of special interest to us are two pending bills. One is the Michel Bill in the House and the Beall version in the Senate. Senator J. Glenn Beall has introduced a bill (S. 3242) "to provide for the personal safety of persons engaged in furthering the foreign intelligence operations of the United States." Congressman Robert Michel of Illinois has introduced a parallel bill. Asked if he thought it would "play in Peoria," he said he believed it would.

NOTES COAST-TO-COAST

In April, three members of ARIО's Board of Governors participated in a seminar on intelligence sponsored by the Hartford, Connecticut, World Affairs Center — **Robert Amory, Harry Rositzke** and **Richard Bissell**.

Veteran **George Fill** has been active in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. He has spoken to several Rotary Clubs, addressed a banquet of the Air Force Association, plus several women's groups, and made talks to officers at the Myrtle Air Base on two occasions. George also has a three-times-a-week radio program on which he has plugged ARIО's objectives. Tapes of the programs were sent to other radio stations in the area and the transcript of one sent to Congress. Well done!

A number of ARIО members report that newspaper editors are printing their letters. **BG William Tidwell's** long letter defending intelligence to *The Washington Star* was reprinted in the Congressional Record. **Colonel Dale M. King** and **Colonel O.D. Simpson** report from Florida that all their letters to the *Miami Herald* are published verbatim.

David E. Wright is active in Utah: He has given speeches in Provo to a forum at Brigham Young University, the Kiwanis Club and the Exchange Club. **Henry C. Woodward** in Rochester, Maine, has spoken for ARIО. **Franz H. Ross** has been on the stump for ARIО. **William L. McGreenery**, from Massachusetts reports that after one of his speeches, 20 members of his audience sent favorable letters to their Congressmen.

Edward F. Hall has spoken in several cities. A lengthy interview was given nation-wide coverage. In New York he appeared before a group of senior retired naval officers, and also addressed a large group in Dallas, Texas. He got good press coverage. Wally has been interviewed as well on numerous radio programs.

Edward F. Hall reminds ARIО activists of the importance of radio as a medium. He points out that in some areas it has more impact than television. His message gets across most clearly on his own radio call-in show in Connecticut. He says the typical reaction is "Thank God the CIA and FBI have been doing their job." He asks that ARIО members in his area contact him. He needs speakers for his radio program.

ARIО Vice-President **Col. George Weinbrenner** is in motion. In addition to his regular duties for ARIО, he is in demand as a speaker. He flew to Dallas to represent us on a television program there early this year, where he astounded the program producer by giving his fee to charity. On March 29 he went to Wichita Falls as the principal speaker for the Air Force Association. Some 300 members were present, and press coverage was excellent.

One of ARIО's most qualified members on international affairs and Communism is **Dr. Stefan Possony**, of the Hoover Institute of War and Peace, Stanford University in California. Last October he chaired a seminar on "The Role of Foreign Intelligence," sponsored by the American Conservative Union. The seminar group was composed of William E. Colby, Representative Samuel S. Stratton (D., N.Y.) and our Dave Phillips. It was well attended by the media.

On April 23, **Howard "Rocky" Stone** flew from Washington to address the political science students at the University of Texas extension at Dallas.

There are many more members who have been active on behalf of ARIО over the past months. Congratulations to all who are at the barricades defending the need for intelligence in America!

David Atlee Phillips
President

Col. George R. Weinbrenner, USAF (Ret.)
Vice-President

John R. Cassidy
Treasurer

Phillis E. Beach
Secretary

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26 March 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
FROM : Angus MacLean Thuermer
Assistant to the Director

This is the quarterly put out by Dave Phillips' Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (NOT the group you're addressing Monday).

As alumni around this town are a factor, perhaps you might want to leaf through it.



Angus MacLean Thuermer

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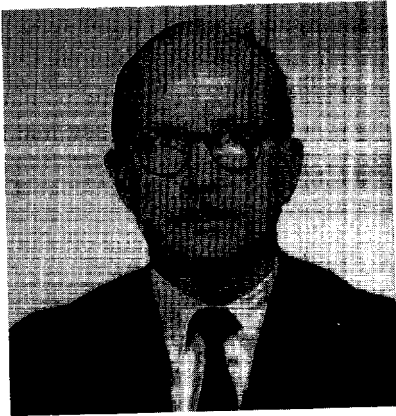
PERISCOPE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS VOL. II, NO. 1, MARCH 1976

A FORMER CIA OFFICER SPEAKS OUT

By Lawrence B. Sulc

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."
(Lincoln. Address, Cooper Union, 1860.)



Richard S. Welch

To honor an old and worthy friend is never easy. To try to honor one who was wantonly slain because he was serving his country makes words useless. All that can be said is that those who knew Dick Welch respected him for the forthright and gentle human being he was. We shall remember.

The murder by terrorists of Richard Welch, CIA chief of station in Athens, was both a personal tragedy and a harbinger of a crisis at home. Welch was not a soldier in the usual meaning of the word. The son of an army general, father of a marine lieutenant, although not a veteran himself (he had been blind in one eye since boyhood), he was in a very real sense a soldier in the service of his country.

Welch was a member of a highly motivated, highly professional corps of intelligence people serving diligently abroad as part of, and to a degree an extension of, our nation's first line of defense. His death demonstrates one of the dangers they face. The nation finds itself unable, or unwilling, to provide them with the protection they need and deserve if they are to continue their mission.

Basic to the intelligence collection function is the case officer. He is at the front line of the effort to

handler, at the beginning of the intelligence chain which passes through the collation and analysis process and which eventually becomes the national estimates on which policy makers base their decisions. Although much intelligence in the modern world is obtained by electronic means, satellite photography and, of course, the sifting of tons of overt material, the case officer performs an indispensable function — the acquisition of information from human sources, from people through human contact. He performs a vital role in a vital profession. The case officer has what must be one of the most satisfying — and frustrating — jobs in the world. It is exciting, rewarding and increasingly dangerous. Welch's death is an indication of the nature of the risks.

The life of a case officer is not easy under the best of circumstances. Health problems, poor schooling for his children and the rigors of frequent moves make life difficult for any American official sent abroad. The case officer has additional problems. Frequently, maintenance of his cover requires of him a full day's work in his cover job at the end of which his intelligence work (his reason for being there) begins. The case officer's intelligence tasks usually are undertaken after hours and may carry him into the late evening. His social life, and more importantly his family life, must suffer.

Life is especially difficult in a terrorist area and the number of such areas is, unfortunately, increasing. The demands of the defensive measures he must take gnaw into his time (and psyche) still further. The strain is also felt by his wife and children which, in turn, increases the stress on him. The family does not dare establish a pattern of behavior which the terrorists might exploit. A strange car, a loiterer, an unusual telephone call — any of these may have sinister portent. Even small children must be told that a strange package might contain a bomb. Life is tense. It will be more so.

The case officer's intelligence, flexibility and dedication are taxed to the extreme. The new element with which he must now contend is the entry into the picture of the American radical. Considered heretofore a nuisance, the American radical is proving highly dangerous. Americans, for the first time as far as is known, have allied themselves with foreign terrorists to kill American officials abroad.

(Continued on page 2)

American radicals and foreign terrorists are cooperating closely. The former admit — indeed boast — of having provided Welch's name to the Greek newspaper which published it not long before Welch was killed. Acts of terrorism breed further acts of terrorism. On January 15, wire service reports told of the acknowledgement by the same American radical group that it had been involved with a French leftist newspaper in publishing the names of alleged CIA officials in France. In the anti-U.S., anti-CIA climate that exists in much of the world, this act by this American group could result in further terrorist attacks on American officials overseas. This is precisely what the American radicals want — they seek to "neutralize" the CIA abroad.

Sensationalistic and self-serving actions of certain legislators have contributed to the anti-CIA atmosphere at home and abroad. The image of the U.S. has been damaged, its legitimate intelligence function hindered, and its personnel endangered. In such a climate terrorism flourishes.

Months from now when the present furor is largely forgotten here and we have passed to new subjects for lurid treatment by the media and new issues for cynical lawmakers to exploit for personal gain, the case officer and his colleagues will continue to serve the nation in silence. He has no lobby, no association, few spokesmen. His job will be even more difficult now and, for him and his family, ever more dangerous. (This article was written for the V.F.W. *American Security Reporter*.)

SENATE GETS RESULTS OF ARIO SURVEY

The results of the recent ARIO membership poll in which members were asked to give their views on the many problems facing the Intelligence Community were presented to the Senate Government Operations Committee by ARIO President David Atlee Phillips at a hearing on January 22.

Mr. Phillips said that he was able to respond to the Committee's questions thanks to the poll to which more than 300 members had responded. He said that 60 percent of the members had added comments to the questionnaire, some of them quite lengthy.

Mr. Phillips then went on to say: "The thoughts I will convey come from men and women who have spent their lives in intelligence at home and abroad. Conservatively calculated, the views reflected in the poll represent some 6,000 years devoted to the intelligence profession.

"Perhaps the opinions on Congressional oversight and covert action operations will be of most interest to this Committee. First, brief observations on other issues. (When percentages do not total 100 an undecided or no opinion element exists.)

"Queried about the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, 51 percent of the respondents said it should remain as it is, but play a more important role; 30 percent believed it should be expanded and play a very significant role; 10 percent thought it should be eliminated. Eighty-three percent believe the Forty Committee, with representatives from the Executive, Departments of Defense and State and CIA, should remain about the way it is. The 8 percent who thought it should be expanded suggested Congressional membership in that exclusive club or, in several cases, someone from the Department of Justice who could act as a before-the-fact legal advisor. Fifty-five percent believe the current practice of an Inspector General for each agency is correct, but 41 percent did not agree, asking for an independent Inspector General over all agencies.

"Ex-intelligence people are unequivocal in their opinion about money figures. Eighty-seven percent are convinced the intelligence budget should not be revealed at all, in the

public sense; 8 percent believe it should be more open; only 4 percent favor full, public disclosure.

"Concerning the degree of exposure of previously secret sensitive operations of the past, 28 percent believe up to 10 percent of them are known, 41 percent that between 10 and 20 percent have been revealed, and 14 percent believe that more than 20 percent, perhaps as much as 60 percent, have been. Ex-intelligence officers conclude that this has resulted, according to their damage assessment, in United States intelligence capabilities being affected as follows: 6 percent believe capabilities have been reduced slightly, 72 percent see them damaged significantly, and 20 percent consider them crippled.

"Almost 80 percent of ARIO's members believe that the senior United States intelligence chief should be, as now, the head of the CIA, wearing two hats. The other 20 percent would like to see him outside the CIA, reporting to the Executive. About two-thirds of us think any CIA Director should be an intelligence professional from Defense or CIA; the others believe the choice should depend on the qualities of the person, whether he is a professional or an "outsider." Seventy-eight percent see no reason for a change in the name of the CIA; 17 percent opt for a new one.

"Predictably, ex-intelligence people yearn for secrecy. Only 4 percent are satisfied with present legislation. Twenty-two percent would be willing to settle for a new law which would hold liable ex-intelligence officers who betray secrets — especially those miscreants who identify their former colleagues abroad. Seventy-three percent want a new law which would restrict everyone, patterned on the British Official Secrets Act. In most cases, however, those voting for this recognize their desire as wishful thinking. Related and relevant is how the respondents feel about de-classification of government intelligence secrets. They feel strongly. Ninety-four percent say the final authority should rest with the Executive rather than Congress.

"I will not dwell overlong on the three questions in our survey about Congress, recognizing that Congress should

go about its business as it sees fit. But, briefly, the results. Eighty-eight percent of the members of the Joint Committee to oversee intelligence, especially covert operations. Many, a large number, saw that this would be difficult because of jurisdictional problems. Ten percent hoped there would be one committee in each the Senate and the House. One percent is happy with the present arrangement of six committees. About 70 percent believe awareness of very sensitive covert operations should be confined to 10 or less congressmen, the remainder believe up to 20 should be advised.

"Only 3 percent of our members believe Congress should be briefed in advance and have veto power over sensitive covert operations. Thirty-nine percent think you should be advised after the fact. A majority of 56 percent want Congress to be advised in advance and to have the opportunity to comment before the fact on the advisability of covert operations.

"Despite appearances and low morale of its personnel, the intelligence community is not in disarray. Quite the contrary. It appears neither necessary nor desirable to change many of the patterns which have been built up often by painful trial and error over the past 30 years and are today effective. But there are some movable pieces to be inspected. One of my colleagues has identified the 'five slices of the CIA pie that can be detached, discarded, or passed around to other agencies in Washington.' These are (a) the uncontroversial overt collection of information, (b) intelligence research and analysis, (c) espionage and counter-espionage, (d) covert political action operations and (e) paramilitary operations. Responses to two ARIO survey questions may be useful in this area. Covert action operations to influence events abroad should be abandoned, say 2 percent of our members. Eighty-three percent want them to be conducted, as now, by CIA. Four percent would have covert operations handled in another government agency. Seven percent believe CIA should continue non-controversial, routine covert action but that major operations, such as support of political parties and secret armies, should be entrusted to a new unit.

"Fifty-five percent of ex-intelligence officers believe CIA should continue to have a clandestine paramilitary capability, as now, with Defense Department cooperation. Thirty-five, however, demand that paramilitary responsibilities should be removed from CIA and given to Defense. Four percent said these capabilities should be abolished.

"We see three aspects of the intelligence controversy as requiring very special Congressional attention.

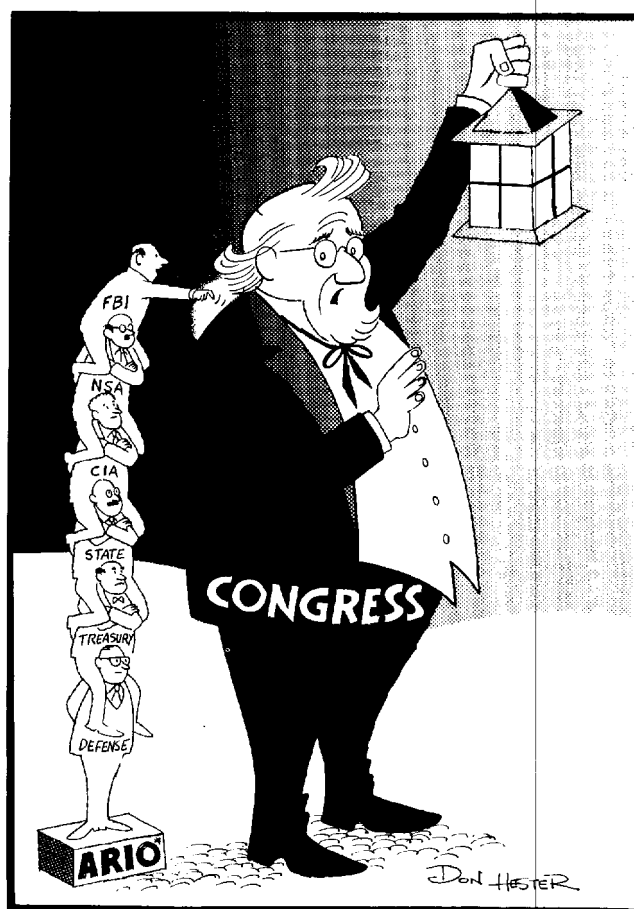
"How should the government view and deal with intelligence situations in which specific laws have been broken yet an argument exists that public interest was served? In our country we must honor the Constitution. Abroad, covert action and espionage cannot be authorized in comfortable legal terms. Western democracies cannot logically legalize the illegal. Historically this dilemma has been dealt with by concealing the espionage function and isolating it from national authority.

"Are there adequate safeguards against the use of intelligence for partisan political purposes? This problem surfaced

but did not materialize in the McCarthy era. Watergate testimony made it clear that the Kennedy administration to use intelligence resources improperly. We believe this chimera should be looked at coolly and in perspective. Neither the survival of our form of government nor any of its institutions have been seriously threatened by the problems which have arisen. The very existence of a secret intelligence service is a risk, but one we must accept because of the net gain. The best that can be done is: a popularly elected president who can be removed from office, a CIA chief who is approved by Congress, a separate chief of the Clandestine Service whose mission is limited, and a Congressional Oversight system of monitoring trends.

"Finally, the nature, scope and control of the Executive use of covert political and military action abroad carried out by the Clandestine Service of the CIA. There is a moral question of balance between the character and scope of covert activity acceptable to the principles and practices of our nation and the steps necessary for national survival and power among nations and the defense of Western open society. This is a very practical question, for if some covert activity is permissible as long as it does not affect the principles of our society, how can it be administered and controlled and yet remain effective? Covert action is one of a panoply of instruments of influence ranging from diplomatic statements to force of arms. Where 'Peace' to closed societies means merely the cessation of the use of official

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*Association of Retired Intelligence Officers: "Let us show you the truth."

armed forces but the continuing use of other forces, the United States has sought to identify and neutralize these forces, often by various covert means. It is understandable and desirable that where Congress constitutionally determines our commitment to official war, Congress should participate in the guide lines of covert struggle and unofficial war. Clearly, in the post-World War II world, the Executive has found the covert response to threats to our interests appropriate. A Congressional monitoring and check as to whether this drift is appropriate is a natural act. But the Legislative should not be made responsible for secret and illegal operations. The Executive, which must be responsible, must be given some discretion.

"Whether a capability to executive covert action operations can be re-established—it does not exist now—in our government is open to serious question. History, practices of other governments, a study of the nature of espionage and covert action, show emphatically that the function should be concealed in government structure and isolated from official national authority. Some want the function unconcealed and tied officially to the highest authority. This will not work.

"Gentlemen, you are about to revise intelligence rules established more than a quarter of a century ago. I wish I could identify some eminent authority, a political scientist with the wisdom and vision of a Leonardo da Vinci, who could sketch for you the year 2000. The critical aspect of your approach to the dilemma of secret operations in an open society is, former intelligence officers believe, the drafting of legislation suitable for the America of 1976 — so soon after Vietnam and Watergate — which will also accommodate the conduct of intelligence in an unknown future in an imperfect world."

Following Mr. Phillips's statement there was a question and answer period. Senator Percy (R. Illinois) said, "I want you to know that I put in the record yesterday an article that I had written for the Chicago Daily News a year ago. I was so deeply concerned about morale in the intelligence community at that time. It has gotten much worse. But I can assure you that members of this Committee, and I, certainly as a Senator, will do everything that I can to always point out the invaluable service that has been provided by the CIA and other intelligence agencies. We could not operate as a nation without that kind of work."

Senator Nunn (D. Georgia) said, "I would like to commend you, Mr. Phillips, for having formed this group and in articulating the point of view of those who have served their nation well. I think it certainly must have been done out of love of your nation and your concern for national security, and I think your testimony here demonstrated that and has been a great benefit to the Congress as we try to correct the errors of the past without damaging what is essential for the future."

Senator Ribicoff (D. Connecticut) said, among other remarks: "It is really sad when you consider that men and women who risked their lives over a period of many years for their country to gather information for the President and

the Nation feel a sense of shame to go back to their home communities and say they were part of the United States of America . . ."

TIDWELL SPEAKS FOR ARIO

Among the many Washington area members speaking out for ARIO is BG (Ret) William A. Tidwell, who has on more than one occasion in recent months graciously and adroitly filled speaking engagements on short notice.

In January of this year Tidwell agreed to a last-minute request to address the Chesapeake Chapter of the National Military Intelligence Association, at Fort Meade, substituting for LTG Daniel Graham, the president of the association. He spoke of the realization, following Pearl Harbor, that an organized intelligence capability was a real necessity, of the many theories espoused as to how intelligence should



BG (Ret) William A. Tidwell

be handled, and of the decision that an independent agency should be formed for the purpose. That agency was later given responsibility for clandestine operations. He discussed covert collection as a means of getting information inaccessible by other means and stressed the importance of intelligence gained in this manner. Tidwell spoke of the difficulties surrounding the organization of such an agency; the administrative problems, and the security requirements involved, particularly for those working abroad.

In similar vein, Tidwell also spoke in the fall to the Navy Officers' Wives' Club in Washington and to a community group in Sharon, Connecticut.

A BRIEF FISCAL NOTE

Well, it is that time of the year and the doughty Warden of the ARIO Exchequer, John R. Cassidy, sees no reason to play second fiddle to the IRS. Members will be delighted to know that Cassidy reports we got back \$46.08 on

(his report says) "unusable beer" at the Convention. Printing of *Periscope* and limited writings took the lion's share from the treasury: to wit, \$788.95. However, membership dues and benevolent contributions brought a wan glow to our Warden's cheeks and with one thing and another, he reports that as of January 13, 1976 we had on hand the sum of \$5,684.49. That is not much for all we have to do and so, the more, the merrier. If there are any of you who would like a detailed accounting we shall be pleased to send it to you.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

With the above fiscal item in mind, we have a note from the Membership Committee. Three of our new brochures with application form are being sent you. Please pass them on to friends who support ARIO's cause. We ask that you make sure to fill in the "Referred By" space with your name. This will save us valuable time in screening applicants. Also, please note the membership eligibility clause. We have cards for Full and Associate membership. They will be issued upon payment of the 1976 dues, and will bear our National Office control number. Those who joined in 1975 will receive their card upon payment of the 1976 dues, payable no later than May, 1976. Thanks to your efforts, membership is growing. Keep up the good work.

THE NEED TO KNOW

Napoleon said an army marches on its stomach. ARIO marches on information. We are, therefore, grateful to those who contribute to our "far-flung" Clipping Service. We need to know what people have to say about intelligence. Members report that even outside the Washington area there is a devastating lack of understanding. The Publications Committee says "we need your help to counter this. We need correspondents around the country — members who are willing to nurture contact with their local media." Plainly, we do not have the staff to keep in contact with all

ARIO members, but the Publications Committee will have the interest. Should you wish to be a correspondent, please let us know and we shall put you on a special mailing list and send you re-prints of articles and letters-to-the-editor appearing in the Washington area. In turn, you would send us newspaper clippings and the "take" from your radio and TV outlets. The Publications Committee would thus serve as a clearing house on a more frequent basis than is possible in *Periscope*. You would be in a position to place material with your local contacts. The Committee needs to know the feeling of Main Street, U.S.A. Please write to ARIO, P.O. Box 34320, Bethesda, Maryland 20034. Attention: Publications Committee.

Here are some hints which may help you in deciding what to clip or forward. (Please make sure that each contribution bears the name and date of the publication, the radio/TV station, name of broadcaster and time of broadcast.)

Local editorials about the intelligence controversy, especially those which comment on new developments.

Wire service stories, AP, UPI, etc. if they mention ARIO or its activities. (These do not always appear in Washington and New York papers.) Otherwise we do not need wire service clips, as we obtain the news in one form or another here.

Columns which comment on intelligence developments. But you may exclude all of the following, which we clip here: Anthony Lewis, Tom Wicker, James Reston, Evans and Novak, James J. Kilpatrick, William Buckley, Mary McGrory, Garry Wills, Smith Kempstone, Carl Rowan, Tom Braden, Victor Zorza, David Broder, Charles Bartlett.

Cartoons, but you may exclude Herblock and Oliphant.

Letters to the Editor, but only if they raise a significant new viewpoint or fact.

Anything in your local press which offers comments or viewpoints of Congressmen, whether letter, article, speech or news story.

REVAMPING CIA: EASIER SAID THAN DONE

By Harry Rositzke

(The following was excerpted with the Author's permission from an article published in *The Washington Post*, January 18, 1976.)

The newest Washington game concerns the problem of what to do with the Central Intelligence Agency. With the White House and two congressional committees planning reforms, the capital is afloat with proposals. The favorite formulas revolve around executive control, congressional oversight — and organizational overhaul. And as is so often the case in the capital, reorganizing and improving are equated.

The most drastic proposition, and the simplest, is "Abolish the CIA." Or put more dramatically, "Get rid of the CIA altogether, lock, stock and burglar's kit." The Presi-

dent can walk into its Langley headquarters and announce, "Boys, the jig is up. It's all over. Get out of here."

The weakest suggestions are cosmetic ones:

Rename it — say, into the Foreign Intelligence Agency. Discarding the tarnished initials will supposedly remove the tarnish and presumably provide an added psychological assurance that the agency will refrain from activities within the United States. But "FIA" is as good a target as "CIA" both at home and abroad in the unlikely event that it will replace the richly loaded "CIA" in the vocabulary of critics and propagandists. The shift might even be cited as just another example of "CIA deception."

If acronymic dexterity solves nothing, a "clean sweep of its present leadership" will give the agency nothing but a

temporary face-lift. A new director, a new charter, a new and more effective congressional oversight committee do not begin to solve the substantive problems raised in the current debates. Is the charter at fault — or the White House? Who is an ideal director — George Bush? To what extent can Congress supervise secret operations — even if it really wants to?

Those critics who consider all or part of CIA's work essential to the national interest — and they are in the great majority — seek the solution in a reorganization of the agency. Their focus in my view is fixed on the right target, for the CIA is a unique organizational maverick in the world of Western intelligence — a large-scale roof organization lumping together several quite disparate sets of intelligence activities.

There are essentially five slices of the CIA pie than can be detached, discarded, or passed around to other agencies in Washington. Some are more tightly glued together than others.

- The overt collection of information from satellites, foreign radio broadcasts, foreign press and periodicals, private American citizens and companies. These are innocuous and non-controversial "services of common concern" to Washington's intelligence community.

- Espionage and counterespionage, mainly through the use of secret agents.

- Covert political action operations.

- Paramilitary operations.

These five functions fall organizationally into two superficially neat segments: the open analytic mission in the directorates of Intelligence and Scientific-Technical; the secret operations mission in the Operations Directorate. These are, and have been since 1947, the "two sides of the house" in the agency.

The most obvious counsel would be to pull apart the two sides, most easily accomplished by taking secret operations out of CIA and confining the agency to its central function of providing overall intelligence estimates to the President. The CIA would then become the agency that, some observers note, the Congress thought it was setting up in 1947. In the process the "professors" would be separated from the "spies," the thinkers from the "thugs." Freed from the contamination of the dirty tricksters, the CIA would become a respectable braintrust, regain the public confidence and allay the fears of Congress.

What would be done with secret operations? Either wipe them out ("give up the sport"), transfer them to another Washington agency, or break them off as an autonomous secret service. These are tempting suggestions, but each offers practical problems in its execution.

To destroy the present intelligence service because "it has had its cover blown" (whatever that might mean) and to start a new, smaller, less obtrusive service from scratch can only result in the loss of hundreds of foreign agents, scores of effective working relationships with other intelligence services and five years on a new start. As this country learned in the late 40's, "It takes many years to develop a good spook-factory."

Be it the old service, or a new one, for whom would it

work? There are two logical alternatives: the Secretary of State or the President. If the legislative authority for all secret operations is given to the Secretary of State, will the diplomats be any happier than the intelligence analysts cohabiting with the secret operators? Will "State" replace CIA as the sinister arm of American diplomacy? Doesn't Dr. Kissinger have his hands full without taking on Washington's most controversial football?

Assigning secret operations to the White House makes more sense. The German and French services work directly out of the Executive's front office. They take their orders without any intermediary "director." They are his service and are allowed to operate under his executive privilege. Their scandals are his scandals. But their daily business is also his own.

On bureaucratic balance — and bureaucratic facts cannot be shoved aside — there would be more sense in extracting the intelligence side of the house out of CIA and have it take along the modest support structure it would require. This service could sensibly be appended to the White House which it now serves as the top intelligence body in Washington reporting directly to the President through his National Security Adviser or acting as the intelligence arm of the National Security Council. It should not, as some have urged, be made subordinate to the Secretary of State (or of Defense) for its only claim to existence as an independent estimator unaffected by diplomatic policies or military budget interests.

These proposals are complicated enough, but less complicated than those for pulling apart the three slices within the Operations Directorate. The strongest congressional and public pleas have been for a separation of the espionage-counterespionage function from the covert action function. That there is a "dichotomy" between espionage and action operations, no one will deny.

Placing action operations in a separate agency has been tried before — from 1948 to 1952 in the Office of Policy Coordination. The result was confusion, duplication and insecurity.

There is no separate transferable "department" in the Operations Directorate that carries out political action operations. There are not two cadres of operations officers overseas — one for espionage, one for political action. The case-officer getting secret reports from a political leader is the same man who, on instruction will discuss his agent's political plans and, on instruction, will pass funds to assist his career or his party's prospects. An agent, low-level or high-level, has but one case-officer, and all CIA business is transacted between the two.

No clear line can be drawn between the collection of political intelligence and political action. The best informed agents are normally influential men in their own societies. Even an intelligence officer does not passively accept information supplied by an influential agent. Their conversations can range from local diplomatic issues to the Soviet-Chinese nexus. Through these contacts the intelligence agent is already an "agent of influence" for his bias is inevitably pro-American. The shift from this function to that of an

(Continued on page 8)

INITIATIVE ON THE HILL

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One of our enterprising members (he understandably prefers to remain anonymous for the time being) has been casting bait into the marbled pool of Congress. He has found the task rewarding. He says the members of his Congressional delegation were "very receptive and interested" in what he had to say. He talked with staff members of several key Senate committees — Government Operations, Appropriations and Foreign Affairs — among others. He spent several days discussing intelligence. He learnt a lot about how things are done on the Hill.

Our member says he does not know what effect his campaign can have, but he said he is "convinced that most of the people to whom I talked were sincerely concerned." Some clearly appreciated a "pat-on-the-back" phone call following a favorable vote or a sympathetic press comment.

Periscope can do no better than to quote said member: "Take time to call the office of your legislator. Better yet, drop in. People in the Washington area are uniquely placed for Congressional contact. Besides, you will enjoy it. The CIA is very much a top issue in the Capitol right now. Congressional staffers are interested, in many cases, eager to talk with people who have an intimate knowledge of the intelligence profession. As a member of ARIО, that includes you." To this, your Editor would like to recall an ancient German farmer saying: Mit Fleiss und etwas Spucke, fangt man manche Mücke. To wit: With hard work and a little spit, you can catch many a fly. Those who are far from the Capitol might remember the State House has a lot to say about who gets re-elected.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Among all the tumult and the shouting and the melodramatic hysteria about "spies," one wonders sadly as to what has happened to the sweet voice of Reason. The Reason of fact, the Reason of Reality. No man spies on a friend. One spies for one reason: to protect the clan. He who lacks that protection shall surely suffer. The Macdonalds were massacred by the Campbells at Glencoe in 1692 because they did not know what awaited them. Clans are small. Nations are big. But each can fall as easily to treachery as the other. We must face the sour fact that the United States, despite its generosity to the vanquished, is not loved by all. We have powerful, rich and ruthless enemies. Reason, therefore, dictates that to survive we have to know how the foe plans to move against us. We can do no better than to quote Lieutenant General Vernon A. Walters, Deputy Director, CIA. "We see, in other words, in all areas a tremendous military effort being made to modernize and improve the Soviet forces beyond what seems to me to be necessary for either deterrence or defense. And so the inevitable question which faces the United States Government is: What use will they make of this, of these capabilities? And that is the question for which the United States

Government must look to the intelligence community, to the CIA and the other intelligence agencies, for answers." If we lived in a world of friends, spying would be despicable. We do not.

FROM THE DESK OF DAVE PHILLIPS

The last three months have been busy, especially after the death of Dick Welch in Athens. I have debated that sad development with several of the miscreants who work with *The Fifth Estate* and *Counter-Spy* on numerous radio and television shows. In London I had the dubious honor of appearing with Philip Agee again on the BBC. There have also been some three dozen speeches around the country and in the Washington area.

Those of you who attended the September convention will recall that a producer and camera crew from 60 Minutes were on hand. The 60 Minutes producer told me later that the show had been scrapped. They thought they would have a lot of new secrets, gathered from the ARIО members at the convention, but they learned none. My congratulations. (During a later interview with 60 Minutes, I talked about ARIО several times in the hour and a half of filming, but nothing about ARIО remained in the fourteen minutes which was left after editing the film.)

ARIО has had frequent contact with Congress recently. In addition to my testimony, based on the poll, which is reported elsewhere in this edition of *Periscope*, we have visited the Hill several times representing ARIО and have had, I believe, an input into current thinking and legislation. Colonel Steve Hammond, representing our military membership, and I recently briefed some 35 staff assistants in the Senate, who were seeking counsel from ARIО — it was a new and different thrill for Steve and me when these young people applauded us at the conclusion of the briefing!

Things are changing, for the better, as far as the intelligence community is concerned. Legislators went home over the Christmas holidays and felt the pulse of their constituents; they came back with new thoughts. The tide is turning.

In late January, I went to California to give a speech and had a chance to visit Colonel Carl Eifler, of our Board of Governors and our senior organizer for the Western part of the country. Colonel and Mrs. Eifler (she is an associate member) acted as my hosts, and went with me to a press conference and to the speech. Carl has printed up his own ARIО applications, as has his friend, Tom Moon, and distributed them throughout the West. Carl has traveled extensively, and his recruiting prowess has resulted in five times more ARIО members in the area than we had before. A really remarkable job.

Before that speech in California, the president of the group sponsoring my appearance remarked that he once had served in military intelligence. After I finished he said, "Well, I'm ARIО's newest member." Carl Eifler recruited him while I spoke!

active political action agent becomes one of degree — from accepting advice to accepting money for carrying out an agreed course of action of mutual interest.

The paramilitary slice of CIA operations, on the other hand, is eminently detachable. Its personnel are specialists — parachute trainers, combat instructors, sabotage experts, etc. — having little to do with the handling of secret agents. Its logistics demand the creation of air proprietary companies, secret dumps, the hiring of foreign crews and large outdoor training sites. It involves the most extensive and expensive overhead of any covert operations — when it is the job of a civilian agency. It clearly belongs with the military.

Paramilitary operations have been the least productive instrument of American covert action. Communist-controlled terrain proved to be immune to resistance operations — in Poland, Albania, North Korea, northern China, North Vietnam. The support of the anti-Sukarno rebels in Indonesia and the invasion of Cuba ended in disaster. Even the “successful” invasion of Guatemala and the covert support of U.N. forces in the Congo had equivocal long-term benefits.

Taking paramilitary operations out of the CIA and placing them where they belong — in the Department of Defense — would achieve two purposes. The Congress would be placed directly within the decision-making process for paramilitary as well as military operations abroad, and the burden of proof that covert rather than open action is required would rest with the President. The Operations Directorate would be reduced to a secret service — and it is about time the United States had one.

(Editor's Note: Mr. Rositzke's article was the subject of some “Letters to the Editor” of the Washington Post. J.E. (Ned) Dolan, for example, disagreed with the suggestion that intelligence reporting of the Intelligence and Scientific-Technical Directorates be separated from opera-

tions and made a part of the White House staff, although he found no argument with the proposition that paramilitary operations are properly the responsibility of some agency other than CIA. In a letter complimenting Mr. Rositzke on his article, John L. Hart made some additional points: First, the underlying fallacy, in discussing revamping of CIA, that an ideal solution exists — it does not, he says. Secondly, “compromises with principles are going to have to be made if we are to have a fully effective intelligence service. Without secrecy there can in the long run be no viable system of collecting intelligence from human sources. The only good human sources are non-Americans who have a stake in surviving in their own societies. If this stake is jeopardized by lack of secrecy on our part, they will not cooperate with U.S. intelligence.” Finally, “however our intelligence is reorganized it must be done in such a manner that American intelligence representatives overseas continue to have a clear channel to the top policymakers in Washington.”

(Periscope welcomes your view on this article.)

NOTES COAST-TO-COAST

To be noted with pleasure: Lee Hickcox, formerly COS in Hong Kong, has joined the ranks of ARIO and has set to work in earnest. He spent two days at Ashland College in Pennsylvania, lecturing and give-and-taking in “rap” sessions with the students. He reports that the local Gettysburg station, WGET, signed him up for a talk show and that he has been asked to address the local Lions Club.

Lee Echols in California has a nice brush fire going: Two Rotary Club, one Kiwanis and three Masonic Lodge addresses to his credit in recent weeks.

A heartening note from a St. Louis Globe-Democrat editorial. The lead read: “If there isn't a law that bans the publication of the names of CIA agents and others performing secret missions for the U.S., there should be.” It added “There is a good possibility that Welch was assassinated as a direct result of being fingered by this crummy assortment of anti-Americans.”

David Atlee Phillips, President
Col. George R. Weinbrenner, USAF (Ret), Vice President
John R. Cassidy, Treasurer
Phyllis E. Beach, Secretary

Periscope is edited for ARIO by Herbert G. and Doris E. King.

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In Pursuit Of Folly

By Anthony Lewis

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28—In recent weeks the Ford Administration has been arguing, in all possible forums, that a President must have broad discretion to use the Central Intelligence Agency for covert operations. It has argued with particular emphasis that the operations must be kept secret.

Thus officials have objected to the current legal requirement that Congressional committees be advised of covert actions. If Congress must be told, they urge, information should go only to a small number of members who will not pass it on. They have proposed tough new penalties for leaks.

If there were such a system of Presidential discretion with assured secrecy, how would it work? As it happens, we do not have to speculate. An example is at hand: The program pushed by Secretary of State Kissinger and approved by the President to have the C.I.A. funnel arms and money to one side in the Angolan conflict.

The House of Representatives has just joined the Senate in voting to ban covert aid to Angola. It did so despite a letter from Mr. Ford warning—in language reminiscent of Henry Penny—that a ban would throw doubt on American "resolve" everywhere. The House vote was overwhelming, 323 to 99. A majority of Republicans even voted for the ban.

That lopsided result makes manifest the weakness, indeed absurdity, of the

case for covert American intervention in Angola. But if the Administration had its way about the rules, there would have been no such result. There would have been no vote, and no debate, because the adventure in Angola would have been a secret.

It is fun to denounce leaks, and often politically useful. President Nixon and his lawyers used to deplore leaks when they wanted to distract attention from what had been disclosed—his abuses. Similarly now the White House and the C.I.A.'s ex-director, Mr. Colby, found it easier to attack the leaking of the House Intelligence Committee report than to deal meaningfully with its findings.

Of course there can be irresponsible leaks, and unlawful ones. But in our system disclosure can also be the last resort against abuse of power. Secrecy insulates authority. Americans should never forget that officials who demand secrecy are also asking for a form of unaccountable power.

The Angolan operation shows the danger of secrecy. It was not a covert action of the traditional, limited kind; it was a large new departure in American foreign policy. Why, then, was it undertaken in secret? A former C.I.A. official, Harry Rositzke, answered that question recently in The Washington Post. He wrote:

"The President and the Secretary of State were concerned that the Congress would not agree with their Angolan policy and would not supply the required funds. Secret funds provided the easy way out. The use of covert action, not to achieve a foreign purpose in secret but to evade Congressional scrutiny, degrades the covert instrument into a domestic political tool."

That cautionary comment from an intelligence veteran leads to a puzzled question: Why should the present officials of the C.I.A. want it to be judged by such political enterprises as the Angolan caper? Why did Mr. Colby, as he left office, seek to tie the agency to the very forces in Government that have misused it and damaged its reputation?

The use of an intelligence agency as a secret arm of executive power, avoiding proper political control, must put the integrity and honor of the agency at risk. That is the lesson of the Bay of Pigs, Chile, Laos, the tragic arming and then abandoning of the Kurds.

The C.I.A. has itself sometimes opposed these misadventures, for example the Kurdish intervention. And intelligence specialists surely see the risk to their function if the agency gets involved in large-scale war operations. How can it be expected to provide dispassionate intelligence on a situation like that in Angola when it is committed to one side? (One's guess is that U.S. estimates of factional strength in Angola have in fact been way off.)

The intelligence community may be getting that message, Mr. Colby notwithstanding. The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers has just taken a poll of its members, and 56 percent of those responding thought that Congress should be told before covert operations were undertaken. Respect for our constitutional system of political accountability can only help the true intelligence function.

Congressional oversight is no amulet; it would not prevent every abuse. We also need a statute confining the C.I.A. to intelligence functions except possibly for limited covert action in situations posing grave risks to the national security. But Congress can show that it has learned from recent history if it now takes on the responsibility of meaningful intelligence oversight, without disabling itself by secrecy.

ORGI ARIO

DALLAS, TEXAS
NEWS

M - 264,750

S - 312,346

JAN 15 1976

Ex-agent hits revealing of alleged CIA staffers

By JOHN CRANFILL

A former CIA agent, a friend of assassinated agent Richard Welch, says it is "irresponsible and criminal" for the press to reveal names of alleged CIA personnel abroad.

The danger, said retired agent Wallace A. Mills of Arlington, Va., is not from intelligence agents of other governments, who "don't rub out each other's operatives" and who do often cooperatively exchange information.

Exposed agents, Mills believes, will be subjected instead to assassination attempts by "extremists, revolutionaries, the crazies" in a foreign country looking for an American target.

His friend, Richard Welch, was assassinated Dec. 23 after an Athens newspaper identified him as the CIA's station chief in Greece. A rash of foreign press reports have since identified agents in Spain and France, with more reports expected in Italy, where the CIA reportedly was involved in politics. Italy's government collapsed last week, the day after the CIA allegation was made.

MILLS WAS A CIA agent for 10 years in Europe and five years in Latin America before retiring in 1974 to enter private business with a consulting firm in Arlington. He is a graduate of Harvard and Yale Universities, and began his intelligence career in the U. S. Navy.

Describing his public comments as "unusual" for a former CIA agent, Mills was here this week to address the Federal Executive Board of Dallas and Fort Worth. Mills is active in the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, formed last summer to "respond

about intelligence operations" of the to fragmentary and misleading articles.

Mills referred to current discussions of CIA operations as "surfacing a number of errors in U. S. foreign policy," but doubts these are continuing.

"There is a tremendous possibility for mischief and I think very little has taken place," he said, relating the bulk of CIA activities to overt actions consisting of gathering information "much like a newspaperman" with many agents working in Washington, D.C.

MOST AMERICANS do not understand the clandestine operations, he added, those conducted by agents stationed abroad, usually in embassies. These he divided into actions of acquiring information, "which everybody does," conducting liaison with a host of intelligence sources and the covert, or secret, actions.

Some covert activities, such as charges of assassinating foreign leaders and political interference in governments, should be analyzed by "responsible" probes in Congress, Mills said. Nothing of value is achieved by publishing agents' names or revealing illegal CIA actions in the press, usually quoting disenchanted agents who do not know the whole picture, Mills argued.

The result is "the CIA is heading down and going down fast. Our understanding by the American public and by Congress is eroding," he said. "My friends abroad say the disclosure of CIA agents and operations is astounding. They don't know why America is going through this, almost masochistic, revelation."

THE WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE)
1 October 1975

STAT

The CIA and Ex-Agents' Rights

By John Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

Washington's intelligence community is troubled over the issue of how to remove the stigma from a man who has served his country as a CIA agent and wants to seek other employment.

Although there have been recent reports of job discrimination against former CIA agents and their families in the wake of bad publicity the agency has been receiving, ARIO, the organization recently established to defend the CIA and intelligence agents, has delayed implementing a "civil rights" program for former intelligence officers.

ARIO stands for Association of Retired Intelligence Officers. It has, according to David Phillips, one of the group's founders, 460 members, the majority of them former CIA employees.

AT A RECENT organizing meeting in Alexandria, ARIO members voted approval of 12 committee reports setting the basic role of their organization as an educational one, rather like a nonprofit trade association.

A 13th report, one calling for pressure on the CIA to implement a meaningful re-employment program for former intelligence officers, was tabled for further study.

According to Phillips, ARIO hesitated because "we find ourselves with a new problem, one that we don't understand well. We're accustomed to checking our sources carefully and we're on unfamiliar ground here."

So far, according to Phillips, the group has received about 20 reports of discrimination. Some of them involve discrimination against school children when their peers learn that their father is an ex-agent. Another, he said, involves the wife of a former agent who was turned down for a job

because of her husband's intelligence background.

ARIO, HE said, has scheduled a meeting with the New York office of the American Civil Liberties Union to get legal advice on how to proceed in the civil rights area. It also plans to send out a questionnaire in an attempt to document more cases.

Eric H. Biddle Jr., a former CIA officer who helped draw up the civil rights report that was tabled by ARIO, contends that there was a "yawning lack of interest" in the problem at the meeting as well as some hostility toward defining the problem as a civil rights problem.

Biddle said that when he attempted to raise the issue during the closed meeting, several members complained loudly. One man, he said, characterized his report as "whining." Another exclaimed "so that's what civil rights means."

The meeting's leadership, according to Biddle, shut off debate on the subject and chose not to distribute a questionnaire he had prepared on the matter. In protest, Biddle has resigned from ARIO, charging in a letter to Phillips that, of all the issues before the group, job discrimination is the problem "of most immediate importance to current and future

continued

28 September 1975

Curb on CIA abuse urged by ex-agent

THE SCOPE of the Central Intelligence Agency must be changed so that abuses such as those being splashed across newspaper front pages and television screens do not happen again, David Atlee Phillips, a former CIA agent told a Chicago audience Friday.

Speaking to members of the Woman's Athletic Club, Phillips admitted the intelligence agency has made "some bad mistakes" and did not attempt to defend them.

"Actions which are unconstitutional cannot be defended," said Phillips who resigned from the CIA five months ago after 25 years in such hot spots as Cuba, Lebanon, and the Dominican Republic.

HE WAS IN Chicago to start a nationwide speaking tour to explain the role of intelligence in American society today. Saturday he spoke at a seminar sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in Lake Bluff.

"The successes of the CIA were accomplished in the '40s, '50s, and '60s in American foreign policy; of course, there is always the valid question whether the foreign policy was successful," he said.

"There were zigs and zags, some good and some bad."

Phillips said he left the agency because he was frustrated and concerned at the lack of understanding by Americans of the role of intelligence and intelligence agents. He formed the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers to educate the public.

"We want some spooks to come in out of the cold and explain their function, to present themselves as human beings," he said.

THE SUNDAY LONDON TIMES
21 September 1975

Pop in for cocktails, said CIA

By Peter Pringle
Washington

THE INEVITABLE has happened. The CIA has got itself a public relations organisation. In the early hours of yesterday morning one of the greatest espionage dramas of our time came to an end in the gaudy banqueting room of a motel just across the Potomac River from Washington.

About 170 retired United States spies, most of them from the CIA, came out of the cold for a two-day spy convention—thought to be the first of its kind in the world. Their mission: to restore the public image of intelligence-gathering, which has been tarnished by their colleagues' confessions of dirty tricks to inquiring senators on Capitol Hill.

The chairman, a rugged Texan called David Phillips (24 years' service in seven countries) declared: "We come not to praise intelligence, but to see it is not buried." The ageing spooks applauded loudly.

And they cheered when Mr Phillips announced that their five-month-old Association of Retired Intelligence Officers intended to fight back against those, especially some sections of the American media, "who would destroy it." "But there will be no 'covert activity.'" The operation will consist of nationwide lectures (to organisations that are deemed suitable), broadcasts and "education" of the American people in a "full appreciation of the role of intelligence."

The association is financed mainly by its members' \$10 annual subscriptions. It is frowned on by some of the CIA chiefs who believe it might do more harm than good.

Mr Phillips, an Old Latin American hand, is confident that with the organisation's help, the future for intelligence men is brighter. He thinks that the congressional hearings (which last week revealed the CIA'S possession of a poison dart gun for eliminating opponents) will find that over all the intelligence business is sound, organised and disciplined, and vital for the nation's security.

I learned that the CIA has seldom discriminated over the sex of its recruits, there are some jobs only a woman can do, I was told.

I bought a cocktail and sat down at a table for dinner with George Fill, who was recruited to the agency when he was a night club dance-band drummer.

Suddenly he became silent. Just a minute," he said. "Where did you get that accent?" "I'm English" I assured him. "Oh good," he said. "Some of my best friends are English. You sure have some great guys in that M5 and that M6. Very professional. We always used to end up telling them more than they told us."

"But can you ever imagine them having a convention like this?" I asked him.

"No way," he replied.

21 September 1975

Ex-Agents Come Out of the Cold To Give the CIA a Helping Hand

United Press International

WASHINGTON — About 160 former intelligence personnel plan to come out of the cold this week in an unprecedented public reunion at an ordinary motel.

Never before have former intelligence agents and personnel, many of whose working lives depended on anonymity, gone public. It was unthinkable.

But the current furor over U.S. spy activities — including, most recently, a new battle between the

House and President Ford over possession and release of intelligence documents — caused the one-time agents to band together to try to protect the name of their profession.

As casually as a group of Rotarians or Knights of Columbus, they will gather Thursday and Friday at an Alexandria, Va., motel to swap stories over drinks and dinner.

The American intelligence veterans are members of a newly formed nationwide Association of Retired Intelligence Officers — code-named ARI

— which to date numbers about 400 former agents from 36 states.

The organization's first national convention will elect officers, approve bylaws and plan activities.

ARIO is the brainchild of David A. Phillips, a ruggedly handsome Fort Worth, Tex., native who spent 24 years with the CIA before resigning last May at the age of 52 to fight battles for CIA in the outside world.

Phillips says emphatically that he no longer has any official connection with the CIA and that the agency has nothing to do with ARI, which is financed only by membership dues.

He also is confident that congressional investigations now in progress will find, overall, that the intelligence business is sound, organized and disciplined, and vital for the nation's security.

After leaving his last post as chief of CIA Latin American operations, Phillips started organizing ARI.

Its mission: to try to counter the avalanche of criticism of the CIA and other intelligence branches, dispel "myths and exaggerations," and explain the role of intelligence to the American people through television and radio appearances and lectures.

"We want to provide perspective to the current controversy on secret operations of the United States," he said.

In a recent Washington news conference, Phillips said: "I insist that the CIA has been working for the country's good during the administrations of six Presidents and has been doing a damn effective job. It is an organization filled with very capable and very dedicated people."

ARIO already has reported its own civil rights problem.

Phillips' announcement of the convention said that "some members of the association report increasing discrimination because of past connection with American intelligence when they seek post-retirement employment" and that this would be one of the issues discussed.

THE GAZETTE (ALEXANDRIA, VA.)
20 September 1975

Spies' Reunion In City

By United Press International

They wandered around the motel Friday with name tags pinned to their suits and dresses, hailing colleagues from past adventures, other places, other times.

It was no ordinary convention

THE MORE than 160 delegates are former members of the CIA, the FBI, the Defense Intelligence Agency and half a dozen other branches of the U. S. Intelligence community.

The occasion: the first national convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO) — and the first public assembly of the men and women whose lives often depended upon anonymity.

ARIO was founded in May to rally former intelligence officers to public defense of the intelligence community — especially the CIA, which has been under heavy criticism and congressional investigation for alleged misdeeds at home and abroad.

The ARIO conference agenda included a motion to declare that former intelligence agents are being discriminated against because they are former intelligence agents.

"WE'RE BACK in another McCarthy era," said George Fill, 64. "If we had had the CIA in 1941 there wouldn't have been any Pearl Harbor."

He said he left the agency in July because congressional investigations "made the CIA look like an organization of stumblebums."

"Therefore," he said, "It became very difficult if not impossible to carry out my job as a case officer," recruiting local agents in South America.

HE SAID he is unemployed but doing some work for a radio station at Myrtle Beach, S.C.

"If the KGB (Soviet intelligence) shot the President with a dart, the Congress and the people would immediately shout 'where was the CIA?'" Fill said.

"What the KGB has been trying to do for 20 years to the CIA, these committees have done in one month."

A husband and wife spy team, Benjamin M. and Helen Racusin from Hilton Head, S.C., said they served in China before the Communist victory there, and in Hong Kong, Japan, Saipan and Hanoi.

"You give so much of your life to an activity, you can't swat it out of your mind through the simple act of retirement," Racusin said. "I'm proud to be a part of such an organization. If I can be part of an effort to clarify misunderstandings, I want to do it."

WASHINGTON POST
20 SEPTEMBER 1975

Ex-Spies Here to 'Show We're Human'

The new Association of Retired Intelligence Officers is going to stay out of partisan politics but is trying to do all it can to polish the tarnished image of intelligence operations and, according to its founder, "show we're human too."

About 170 ex-spies and other former members of the intelligence community attended the association's first convention this week, which was held "so we would have an identity," according to founder David A. Phillips of Bethesda.

The two-day convention closed last night with a press conference and banquet at the Ramada Inn in Alexandria and announcement of the appointment of 10-member board of governors.

Phillips, 52, is the former chief of Latin American operations for the Central Intelligence Agency. He said he "opted for early retirement" in May to promote the group, which he says is a "private organization receiving no support or guidance from any governmental agency."

Most of the organization's 425 members are former CIA agents, although Philipps said an increasing number are former members of military intelligence or agencies such as the FBI or the National Security Agency.

He said it was a coincidence that the convention was being held at the same time the House Committee on Intelligence was holding hearings on CIA excesses.

Although some who attend-

ed the convention were touchy about discussing intelligence operations at all, most, like John Horton, who spent 27 years in CIA clandestine operations in the Far East and Latin America, expressed concern about the future of legitimate intelligence gatherings. "I don't think there's any doubt that the exposures and revelations have hurt our work," Horton said.

The association's oldest and youngest members also were present.

Vienna-born Hugo Knopfmacher, 85, said he fled the Soviet Union via the Gobi Desert in 1920. He joined the CIA in 1952 and worked as a researcher.

"We have always tried to find the truth," Knopfmacher

er said. "And I try to do my part from the library."

Lewis Regenstein, 32, the youngest member, is a conservationist who works for the Fund for Animals and recently finished the book, "The Politics of Extinction." He used to work out of Hong Kong, watching to see when Communist leaders were falling out of favor.

At the press conference, Philipps said the organization was not formed to defend the mistakes of some people in the intelligence community.

"There have been a lot of mistakes. There are bound to be mistakes in any institution. We're trying to put things into perspective," he said.

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4435 WISCONSIN AVENUE

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM News Scene 7

STATION WMAL TV

DATE September 19, 1975 6:00 PM CITY Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT Ex-Agents Laud Agency (DAVE Phillips)

PAUL BERRY: The special House committee investigating U. S. spy operations met in secret today. At about the same time a group of people with a stake in those hearings met in suburban Virginia.

TV 7's John Harter says their meeting was much more open.

JOHN HARTER: These men are U. S. intelligence officers who have come in from the cold. They might be more at home in Rio or Casablanca, but this is Alexandria's Ramada Inn, scene of the first convention of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, men who want to defend their profession, a secret organization in a free society.

Even as they meet here, the House Select Committee on Intelligence is probing their past activities. Testimony has alleged cover-ups that cost lives in Vietnam, ignoring presidential orders, and even murder.

David Phillips founded the organization after retiring from the CIA last spring. He had been an undercover operative in Latin America for twenty-five years. Phillips' association has not decided if it will defend specific actions, but he's well aware of the charges.

DAVID PHILLIPS: Well, I certainly don't defend the mistakes. Conniving is another matter. Intelligence officers sometime have to use deceit to survive overseas, deception, which is a part of American football....

HARTER: Deceiving a President?

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100480001-4

4435 WISCONSIN A

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Eyewitness News

STATION WTOP TV

DATE September 18, 1975 5:30 PM

CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT An Interview With Phillips and Horton

GORDON PETERSON: A group of retired American intelligence officers have recently formed an association, the purpose of which is to counter unfavorable publicity about the CIA and other intelligence organizations. They're holding their first meeting for the next couple of days at the Ramada Inn in Alexandria.

Estey
You're looking at a total of 75 years experience in American intelligence operations: Hayden Nestor (2), 23 years in the trade; CIA specialty, clandestine operations in Europe, specifically Germany. Dave Phillips, former chief of Latin American operations for the CIA, denies that the CIA engineered the overthrow of Allende in Chile. John Horton, former CIA chief of operations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

These retired intelligence officers and about 120 others are meeting to discuss, among other things, this book, a diary by a former CIA operations officer who worked in Chile. Philip Agee tells everything he knows about CIA operations in South America. He even names agents, liaison contacts, and organizations financed and influenced by the CIA.

DAVID PHILLIPS: ...in the case of Mr. Agee, that (1) he's giving away secrets and (2) he's exposing our officers overseas to great danger, and their wives and teenaged children to anxiety, because he's naming their names whenever he can.

PETERSON: Well, are the allegations he makes about the CIA activities in Latin America, are they true?

PHILLIPS: He has written a book which in many ways describes the life of a junior case officer, which he was. But

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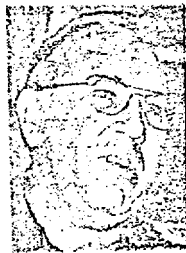
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Wednesday, July 23, 1975

The Key West Citizen—3

Lynch defends position of CIA

Joe Allen, charter member of the Key West Lions Club and a past president, was nominated by fellow-Lions for one of the Ten Outstanding Citizens of Monroe County awards given by the Kiwanis Club of the Upper Keys. Allen was named as the number one recipient of the awards and members of his club gave him an ovation at the dinner meeting held in the Den on Roosevelt Blvd.



Grayston

Lynch

Lion President Louis Carbonell who conducted the meeting made the announcement. Allen was cited for his many years of dedicated service to the community through his continued efforts to preserve the history of Key West and the Keys.

Guest speaker for the evening Lion Grayston Lynch was introduced by Allen, now serving as program chairman. Lynch, a retired CIA agent, president of the Monroe County Chapter of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers:

In a most informative and comprehensive talk, Lynch said the group of retired intelligence officers organized by his former boss in the CIA, David Phillip, was formed to bring reason and logic to what has been happening in the CIA.

"It took 171 years for the country to decide it needed an intelligence agency but it's only taken one year to destroy it," he said. "It was in an (adversary) position to counter attacks by other agencies."

Lynch pointed out that for years the agency's position was that of "no comment" leaving it wide open for criticism. Lynch then explained covert actions about which there has been much adverse publicity. "Less than one-fifth of the actions fall in that category," he explained, "and usually the specialists in the agency are called upon to handle them."

Actions of that type he continued must have the sanction of the NSC, the President or his appointed board. Some of the actions were described as "King-Size" and the rest as economy-sized. Most of them were in response to Soviet covert actions and were necessary to keep our nation informed regarding what was happening in the rest of the world.

Many other bits of information were given including denial that the CIA was involved in assassinations in any country, that the Soviet Union through its KGB service moves in to a country to take it over and that the first groups infiltrated are labor unions, police forces, political organizations, student groups, etc.

Lynch also pointed out that with new laws requiring CIA to report to Congress regarding its projects and programs, it would be impossible to find people to serve and that sources of information would dry up.

CIA OPERATIONS CENTER

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Date. 13 Sept. 75 STAT

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NIGHT LD

BY DANIEL F. GILMORE
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- SOME 160 FORMER INTELLIGENCE PERSONNEL PLAN TO COME OUT OF THE COLD THIS WEEK IN AN UNPRECEDENTED PUBLIC REUNION AT AN ORDINARY MOTOR INN.

NEVER BEFORE HAVE FORMER INTELLIGENCE AGENTS AND PERSONNEL, MANY OF WHOSE WORKING LIVES DEPENDED ON ANONYMITY, GONE PUBLIC. IT WAS UNTHINKABLE.

BUT THE CURRENT FUROR OVER U.S. SPY ACTIVITIES -- INCLUDING, MOST RECENTLY, A NEW BATTLE BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND THE PRESIDENT OVER POSSESSION AND RELEASE OF INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENTS -- CAUSED THE ONE-TIME AGENTS TO BAND TOGETHER AND TRY TO PROTECT THE NAME OF THEIR PROFESSION.

AS CASUALLY AS A GROUP OF ROTARIANS OR KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, THEY WILL GATHER THURSDAY AND FRIDAY AT AN ALEXANDRIA, VA. MOTOR INN TO SWAP STORIES OVER DRINKS AND DINNER.

THE EXPLOITS OF THESE MEN AND THE THINGS THEY KNOW COULD PROBABLY KEEP A TELEVISION SPY THRILLER SERIES GOING FOR THE NEXT 20 YEARS OR OUT-SPOOK JAMES BOND, THE FICTIONAL AGENT 007 CREATED BY AUTHOR IAN FLEMING. FLEMING HIMSELF WAS A FORMER BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OPERATOR.

THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE VETERANS ARE MEMBERS OF A NEWLY-FORMED NATIONWIDE ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICES -- CODE-NAMED ARIO -- WHICH TO DATE NUMBERS SOME 400 FORMER AGENTS FROM 36 STATES. THE ORGANIZATION'S FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION WILL ELECT OFFICERS, APPROVE BY-LAWS AND PLAN FUTURE ACTIVITIES.

ARIO IS THE BRAINCHILD OF DAVID A. PHILLIPS, A RUGGEDLY HANDSOME FORT WORTH, TEXAS, NATIVE WHO SPENT 24 YEARS WITH THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY BEFORE RESIGNING LAST MAY AT THE AGE OF 52 TO FIGHT BATTLES FOR CIA IN THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

PHILLIPS SAYS EMPHATICALLY HE NO LONGER HAS ANY OFFICIAL CONNECTION WITH THE CIA AND THE AGENCY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH ARIO, FINANCED ONLY BY MEMBERSHIP DUES.

HE ALSO IS CONFIDENT THAT CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS NOW IN PROGRESS WILL FIND, OVER ALL, THE INTELLIGENCE BUSINESS IS SOUND, ORGANIZED AND DISCIPLINED, AND VITAL FOR THE NATIONS SECURITY.

AFTER LEAVING HIS LAST POST AS CHIEF OF CIA LATIN AMERICAN OPERATIONS, PHILLIPS STARTED ORGANIZING ARIO.

ITS MISSION: TO TRY TO COUNTER THE AVALANCHE OF CRITICISM OF THE CIA AND OTHER INTELLIGENCE BRANCHES, DISPELL "MYTHS AND EXAGGERATIONS," AND EXPLAIN THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH TELEVISION AND RADIO APPEARANCES AND LECTURES.

"WE WANT TO PROVIDE PERSPECTIVE TO THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY ON SECRET OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES," HE SAID.

IN A RECENT WASHINGTON NEWS CONFERENCE, PHILLIPS SAID: "I INSIST THAT THE CIA HAS BEEN WORKING FOR THE COUNTRY'S GOOD DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF SIX PRESIDENTS AND HAS BEEN DOING A DAMN EFFECTIVE JOB. IT IS AN ORGANIZATION FILLED WITH VERY CAPABLE AND VERY DEDICATED PEOPLE."

ARIO ALREADY HAS REPORTED ITS OWN CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM.

PHILLIPS ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CONVENTION SAID "SOME MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION REPORT INCREASING DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF PAST CONNECTION WITH AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE WHEN THEY SEEK POST-RETIREMENT EMPLOYMENT" AND THIS WOULD BE ONE OF THE ISSUES DISCUSSED.

UPI 89-13 83:47 PED

Philadelphia Inquirer
3 August 1975

112-B Sunday, Aug. 3, 1975

Philadelphia Inquirer

Spies Organize to Defend the CIA

STAT

By SAUL FRIEDMAN
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Twenty years ago, David Atlee Phillips, who had published a newspaper in Chile, was out on the lecture circuit talking about Latin American politics and the Communist threat.

Under the cover of lecturer, however, he was actually a staff officer of the CIA.

Now Phillips is a leader among a growing number of former spies who are popping in from the cold or out from behind keyholes to speak publicly in defense of the CIA.

There is no evidence that the CIA is behind the recent rash of statements, but there are signs of organization and coordination among the former employees. And their position in defense of the agency parallels, in part, that taken by CIA Director William Colby.

Last month in Miami, Mike Ackerman, a 34-year-old former case officer in the agency's Clandestine Services, came forward to tell the Miami Herald that the CIA was "paralyzed" because of the current attacks on it.

Ackerman, a Latin American specialist, had worked for Phillips, and says he quit the CIA last spring, partly because he wished to defend the agency.

Another Effort

Last week, Robert H. Cunningham, a businessman and publisher from Georgetown, S. C., who in the sixties helped run the Rome Daily American in partnership with the CIA, went public to tell the Charlotte Observer: "I'm trying to educate the American public to what it's all about."

Phillips, working out of his home (while his wife is out helping to support the family), formed the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers to tell the CIA story. And now the

former Chief of Latin American operations is coordinating the agency's public defense.

So far, the association has about 250 members and is pulling together a speaker's kit for its members.

Phillips said former employees who are not part of the association "are going out on their own, all over the country to speak at schools, on television, before local American Legion groups. I've been quite surprised and delighted at what has been happening."

"Public concern over the rash of sensationalism and exposes involving U.S. intelligence has generated suggestions for 'corralling' the CIA ... (but) the United States in today's world cannot afford any less than the assurance of a first class intelligence capability ... nor should the United States be deprived of the ability to apply covert political action," he said.

Contrast to Others

The spectacle of employees still loyal to the CIA shedding their prized anonymity is a reaction to those other former agents who, in books or as unnamed sources for the reporters, have blown the whistle on some of the CIA's seamier ventures, like attempted assassinations abroad and domestic spying.

The two biggest breaks in the secrecy of the CIA were the books, "The Cult of Intelligence" by John Marks and former agent Victor Marchetti, and the even more explosive "Inside the Company" by longtime agent Philip Age, who named many agents and agency organizations.

These books, said a member of Congress, were "the outward indications of the unhappiness within the CIA among many agents, par-

larly the younger ones, who in the aftermath of Watergate, didn't like what the agency was doing and decided to say something to someone."

The revelations of Marchetti and Agee blew the cover from many covert CIA operations in Latin America, and led ultimately to charges that the agency has engaged in illegal domestic spying.

Said Ackerman: "The CIA has not been above reproach. It has con-

ducted illegal domestic operations in violation of its charter ... It has, I fear, played a role ... in the planning of political assassination ..."

Nevertheless, he added, the CIA has taken its orders from higher authority and its mistakes have been overblown.

Questions have arisen as to whether there is more than coincidence in the campaign to defend the CIA.

26 JULY 1975

'We Didn't Choose Scouts as a Career'

These CIA Alumni Now Try to Improve The Agency's Image

By Daniel St. Albin Greene
FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

DECEPTION was integral to their way of life. They went to work about the same time as most other Government employees in this "one-industry town," but their neighbors didn't know where they went or what they did when they got there. When asked, they'd usually say vaguely that they worked someplace in the Federal bureaucracy, where anonymity thrives: Sometimes two friends would discover that they were in the same trade and had been lying needlessly to each other for years.

But for David Atlee Phillips, Samuel Halpern, Hayden Estey, and Eric Biddle, Jr., the daily intrigue is over. For many years they were in the business of espionage as officers of the Central Intelligence Agency—and they don't mind saying they're proud of it.

Such an admission is unusual enough in the midst of rampaging controversy that now engulfs the CIA and threatens to downgrade the Government's attitude toward peacetime espionage in general. But in addition these and other onetime intelligence agents have mounted the first public-relations campaign in history to "explain" what the murky world of American spying is all about.

'What It Is Not'

"We didn't choose the Boy Scouts as a career," says Dave Phillips, who resigned as chief of the CIA's Latin American operations three months ago. "But it is also true that these things come in cycles. Many of the things we are getting our lumps for these days are things that U.S. Presidents thought were pretty remarkable."

This irony is at the heart of the message that Phillips and his previously secretive colleagues want to get across to the American public. In a letter to former CIA employees announcing the formation of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO), Phillips said he had resigned from the agency "to help clear up some of the erroneous impressions and sensationalism surrounding the Agency. But whatever their motivations, four erstwhile CIA men talked freely last week about their careers in that mysterious institution.

More specifically, ARIO members can be expected to use all the propaganda skills they developed in foreign intrigue to counteract damaging disclosures by the press, the Rockefeller Commission, Sen. Frank Church's Senate Intelligence Committee, and expose books by former agents Victor Marchetti (*The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, written with John D. Marks) and Philip Agee (see accompanying story).

The intelligence men who, as John LeCarre readers put it, have come "in from the cold" don't deny that they've been involved in a lot of secret doings they still can't talk about. But those interviewed by *The Observer* maintained that during their careers they knew nothing about CIA people spying on Americans in their own land, tampering with the public mail, spiking drinks with LSD, or any of the other misdeeds revealed by the Rockefeller Commission.

Cables to Chile

What about the most persistent and potentially damning charge of all: that the CIA plotted to have some foreign political leaders assassinated, including Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and former Chilean President Salvador Allende?

Phillips, who was a spy in Cuba both before and after the Castro revolution and who was directing Latin American operations when Allende was killed in 1973, denies the allegations. He says that a few months before the bloody overthrow of Allende, CIA headquarters sent cables ordering agents in Chile to "cut off contacts with people who are planning coups" against the Marxist president.

But Sam Halpern, who retired last December after 32 years in the intelligence business, adds a provocative qualifier: "Nobody in his right mind would think that the CIA would go off on its own to knock off a political leader in another country." Not even if the order came from the White House? "We might try to argue 'em out of it; but if the order was, 'Yeah, we heard you, but go ahead and do it anyway,' we'd go do it."

Congressional Control

Whether ARIO members are driven by personal dedication, are erecting a propaganda front for their old agency, or have some other motive can't be established. Phillips acknowledges it will take time for ARIO to earn credibility in an increasingly skeptical world. But whatever their motivations, four erstwhile CIA men talked freely last week about their careers in that mysterious institution.

"We served have d Why no some s going to mate se congres means

of what's going to happen. So we are now in an unusual situation that demands, for the first time in our history, that a secret intelligence organization must be publicly talked about."

In 1946 President Truman established the Central Intelligence Group (CIG) to carry on some of the functions of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the nation's wartime intelligence organization. Though skeptical that the new outfit would be dominated by unregenerated militarists from the OSS, Hayden Estey and a few other disgruntled staffers left *World Report* magazine (now *U.S. News and World Report*) to work for the CIG. The National

Security Act of 1947 created the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency, replacing the CIG.

Attracted Young Graduates

Estey's early skepticism proved groundless. "The morale and dedication was so high in the early days," he recalls, "that most people worked seven days a week." That spirit sustained him for the next 23 years, until he retired in 1970.

"Many young college graduates," adds Phillips, "chose the CIA because it was known as a place where there was intellectual stimulation, ferment of ideas, and room for dissent."

His own gravitation to the world of espionage, however, was far more circuitous. After high school, the handsome young Texan followed his older brother, an aspiring novelist, to New York City to pursue an acting career. His brother, James Atlee Phillips, went on to become a prolific writer of spy novels (James' son, Shawn, is a folk-rock balladeer). But after the war, part of which he spent in a German prisoner-of-war camp, David Phillips gradually decided that he would never be a very good actor; so he, too, turned his attention to writing.

continued

Most Believe Their Profession Unfairly Maligned

Ex-CIA Agents Fret Their Work Not Understood

One recent night, a half-dozen local members of David Phillips' new association of former spies gathered around the coffee table in his living room to "go over our by-laws, find out about our tax exempt status and chat."

They were of roughly similar ages as Phillips, and also lean and tan—except for Arthur Jacobs, a McLean attorney, who was older and had an Einstein-like shock of white hair and was charmingly self-deprecating ("I should be preserved in plastic in the Smithsonian") and Lewis Regenstein, who is younger and is the author of a book called "The Politics of Extinction." "NOT about the CIA," he said. "It's about other endangered species."

Regenstein resigned from the CIA after 3½ years, he said, to follow his interest in "an equally frustrating subject—environmental problems. 'My friends, of course, ask me if I'm spying on the environmental movement.'"

One of the men asked not to be photographed or identified by name, because his current neighbors do not know he is a retired spy.

The Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO) had had its first official meeting a week or so earlier at the Summer Village sales center in Bethesda, with over 50 slightly edgy new members in attendance.

The membership, totaling 250 so far, is concentrated, not surprisingly, in the Washington area. It extends as far south as Florida, with a sprinkling across the Midwest and a few members in the far west. Each has paid at least \$10 dues, "but the average is closer to \$20,"

said Phillips, "and we got one donation for \$200."

The other members share Phillips' belief that their profession has been unfairly maligned and his determination to defend it as best they can without revealing what they consider vital secrets.

At Phillips' house that night, they spoke with flaring passion about the need for public understanding of the espionage business—but in their words was an undercurrent of meaning comprehensible only to them, through their bond of strange experience.

At the request of a visitor, they gamely traded a slew of spy jokes before they came up with a couple that could be appreciated by outsiders (or could be printed).

"One joke that used to go the rounds back when the agency's phone number was unlisted was that the only way you could get the number was to call the Russian embassy," said Dr. Lester Houck of Washington, who once taught Greek and Mediterranean archeology.

A couple of the men had stories about friends they had met socially, had routinely deceived about where they worked, and subsequently run into in the halls at CIA headquarters. "We'd both been working for the agency and lying to each other about it," recalled James Flannery, of Alexandria.

They each censured Phillips' statements about the lack of status and recognition, and especially about the hardships on families. "That's why I got early retirement at 54," said Estey. "To give my wife 19 good years—maybe."

Despite these familiar laments, and despite what Phillips has called "the dis-

temper of the times," which throws a retrospective cloud over all their activities, the men agreed with Flannery when he said firmly: "If I had it all to do over—I wouldn't do it differently."

Flannery spoke almost reverently of his plan to put up a cabin near Cape Hatteras, N.C. "I will report on domestic activities on the Outer Banks," he said softly. "and send back intelligence on when the blue fish are running."—KATHY SAWYER

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For Further Information on

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puty Agency Chief, the Chief of Staff for the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence of the U.S. Army in Europe; the Investigation and Police Information Division of the U.S. Army in Europe; the Army Criminal Investigation Command; and the Defense Investigative Service. *It must be kept in mind that all this spying is outside normal criminal surveillance* 345R000100480001-4 agencies. In addition, acting on requests from nineteen federal agencies and scores of local law enforce-

mericans have always believed that the right to privacy is sacred. We shudder at stories told by travelers to the Soviet Union and other dictatorships who take for granted that their hotel rooms and phones are bugged and that they are followed. But now we discover there is literally no place within the United States safe from the illegal snooping of the CIA (which is restricted by law to foreign operations) and a many other government agencies known as the "Intelligence Community." One extraordinary example is the tiny laser-beam transmitter embedded in the wall of the Oval Office at the White House. Its transmitter picked up and relayed to a remote recording center every conversation between Richard M. Nixon and his aides, friends, and visitors during at least several months in 1970, the year the former president launched his secret domestic intelligence program. Presidential telephone conversations, including those conducted over "secure" scrambler lines, were also picked up by the laser transmitter. The existence in the presidential office of this highly sophisticated device, known by the code name "Easy Chair," remains one of the most sensitive, closely guarded, and intriguing secrets of the Nixon period. This knowledge is restricted to about a dozen top past and present officials of the Intelligence Community. But the precise purpose of the operation, the exact identity of those who ordered the installation of the laser device under a coat of fresh paint on the Oval Office wall, and the ultimate disposition of the instrument remain unclear. Or do we know if tapes were made of

is the third article in a monthly series - America's Intelligence Community, including the CIA.

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Intelligence men give mixed reviews

By HENRY L. TREWHITT

Washington, Bureau of The Sun

Washington — The reaction of the intelligence community yesterday to the Rockefeller commission report ranged from dismay to a judgment that its findings had been fair to the Central Intelligence Agency.

From the CIA itself, the official reaction was silence. CIA employees said privately the agency could not comment publicly while investigations by two congressional committees are still under way.

Still privately, other agency sources spoke of reduced morale, dwindling contacts with foreign intelligence services, and growing distrust on the part of agents abroad. They attributed these trends to the impact of the Rockefeller commission report and fears that the agency no longer can keep its secrets.

However, a group of retired or resigned intelligence officers said the report on CIA domestic operations was "fair and objective."

The report concluded that a series of CIA domestic activities in the past—all discontinued—had been "plainly unlawful" and recommended a series of reforms.

The bleakest reaction came from a career intelligence specialist. In his judgment, journalists had overreacted to the specifics of wrongdoing with the result that CIA morale has

plummeted and the agency's foreign contacts have been damaged.

"It will take a long time to turn it around," he said.

But high officials of the agency were said to have found the commission's findings to be fair, under the circumstances. This was the public reaction of the recently organized Association of Retired Intelligence Officers. The group was formed specifically to counter what it regards as misconceptions about the agency.

David Phillips, former chief of CIA Latin American operations, now spokesman for the association, said the report "disposes of some allegations and considerable speculation concerning CIA and its activities."

"Many of the organization's unique problems are highlighted," Mr. Phillips said, "and CIA mistakes, including errors of judgment and excesses, are aired. Much of this is put into the perspective of earlier years when times and needs may well have been different in many critical respects."

He warned, however, that investigators should tread carefully in their approach to the agency's overseas operations. Exposure of contacts and methods, he said, could cripple or destroy essential activities abroad.

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The Investigator On CIA Assassin

By SAUL FRIEDMAN
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — Battles erupted yesterday among some of the investigators of the Central Intelligence Agency and other American spying operations.

Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and his commission gave their report on intelligence activities to President Ford but, under pressure from the White House and criticism from Senate investigator Frank Church, presented information on alleged CIA assassination plots in a separate report.

Church, the Idaho Democrat who heads the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, promised that he would investigate deeply and report on the assassination allegations. And his panel, continuing its regular closed hearings, met yesterday with John McCone, who was CIA director when several of the murders allegedly sanctioned by the agency took place.

McCone acknowledged after the meeting that there were U. S.-sanctioned plots against Fidel Castro in the early 1960s, but he said they were "minor" and ultimately were abandoned.

In Dark on Plots

Carefully avoiding the word "assassination," McCone said he knew nothing of the Castro plots although he was CIA chief at the time. But he argued that the "hysterical criticism" of CIA activities in that era should be tempered by a realization of Castro's "violent" denunciation of the United States and his efforts to win all of Latin America away from the Western bloc.

Church said, however, that still-secret evidence showed the assassination problem was "not confined" to Castro.

Meanwhile, Chairman Lucien Nedzi (D., Mich.) of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, rejected an almost unprecedented demand from fellow Democratic members that he resign or be removed from the chairmanship for allegedly being too close to the CIA.

Nedzi said he was inclined to take the battle to the House floor, but there were indications that he and perhaps other

In another development, a group of more than 200 former intelligence agents scheduled a meeting in suburban Washington last night to form the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO) to help defend the CIA and other such American agencies.

Denies CIA Role

Former CIA operative David Atlee Phillips, who helped direct the 1973 coup in Chile, quit the agency to form the group. He insisted the CIA had no official or unofficial connection with it.

Presidential Press Secretary Ron Nessen acknowledged that the White House had received the Rockefeller commission's 350-page report.

Nessen explained that material on the alleged assassination plots was separated because the commission had been formed only to investigate charges that the CIA, the FBI and other intelligence agencies had engaged in illegal domestic spying. The official report included that evidence only, Nessen said.

Nessen also refused to say when and in what form the report might be made public. He said only that "it was never the White House plan to release the report until the President read it."

Ford had ordered Rockefeller to include assassination allegations as part of his investigation. And he pledged that the report would be made public.

Hints Conspiracy

Nedzi said he was "mystified" by the sudden move against his chairmanship, apparently led by Robert N. Giaino (D., Conn.), a House regular who had been competing with Nedzi for control of the committee Democrats.

Nedzi even hinted that his troubles might be part of conspiratorial attempts to discredit not only him but the House investigation as well.

"There are strange things going on," Nedzi said, "and I don't know what's behind it."

Nedzi had been accused by other Democrats of not having told them about a briefing he got from the CIA more than a year ago on alleged assassinations and attempted political murders sponsored by the agency.

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beral on the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Intelligence Operations.

Taking his duties seriously, Nedzi became more familiar than anyone in Congress with the secrets of the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

One-Man Quest

He insisted that his one-man quest for information had resulted in more openness on the part of the agency, had uncovered some past abuses and prevented new ones.

But he said: "My subcommittee was rather conservative, and I got the information from the agencies on condition that it not become public. Some of the information became public, at my request. But some did not, when I thought there were justifiable reasons. Every member of the Armed Services subcommittee had access to the information, and during the course of the current investigation the new select committee would have gotten it."

Nedzi added that he had been chosen as chairman of the select committee at least partly because "of the briefings I had gotten and the knowledge I had. Now I'm being attacked for having gotten that knowledge. I am mystified and wonder why it's happening."

Giaino, who had not been interested in the CIA until recently, was the leader in the effort to take the investigation away from Nedzi's Armed Services subcommittee and give it to a new, select committee. He also sought the chairmanship, although Albert chose Nedzi.

Giaino vetoed Nedzi's choices for staff director of the select committee, and successfully pressured Nedzi into approving Searle Field, from Giaino's home state, Connecticut.

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2 JUNE 1975

INTERVIEW: David Atlee Phillips

ORGANIZATION OF RETIRED
INTELLIGENCE
OFFICERS

'There Is No Other Way'

For 25 years, David Atlee Phillips served as a CIA agent in more than half a dozen Latin American nations. When he resigned three weeks ago to form a group called the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, Phillips, 52, was chief of the CIA's Latin American operations, a post he occupied at the time the Allende government was overthrown in Chile. Last week, Phillips discussed the CIA's past roles and present troubles with NEWSWEEK's Andrew Nagorski. Below, their conversation:

NAGORSKI: Your new organization is rather unique. What is its purpose?

PHILLIPS: Right now the CIA is at the center of a great controversy. There's no question that we have a public-relations problem of some magnitude. That can't be handled from within. The institution is not geared for it. And so I decided to try and do it from outside.

Q. Given the past record of CIA covert financing, how can anybody be sure that your organization isn't a CIA front?

A. No one can be absolutely sure except for William Colby [the director of the CIA] and me and my wife. But given the intense scrutiny that we're under now in Congress, it's inconceivable for anyone to think that Mr. Colby and I would try to fool Congress.

Q. The CIA spent millions of dollars to "destabilize" Chile. Doesn't that make the U.S. at least indirectly responsible for the coup and the murder of Allende?

A. Any involvement, you must say truthfully, has some effect. But the CIA was not behind the strikes that led to the coup that toppled Allende and was not in contact with the coup plotters.

Q. What, then, was the CIA role in Chile?

A. It was in a way the same sort of thing that happened in Western Europe after the war. We were preserving certain democratic sectors. It was keeping some people who looked like they were about to go down in the very bad situation that was going on in Chile in a position to be able to stay in business until the elections. I don't want to go beyond that.

Q. But isn't that a brush-off?

A. Not at all. I'm simply saying that when I went to work for the U.S. Government as an intelligence officer I signed a secrecy agreement that I must honor.

Q. Did the CIA have prior knowledge of the coup?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. And did it do anything to notify Allende?

A. On many occasions over a period of months we heard that there was going to be a coup or there wasn't going to be one. So the question never arose as to whether we were going to advise him.

Q. On what ground can the blatant interference in domestic affairs that the CIA seemed to be involved in in Chile be justified by a country that claims to represent democracy?

A. I was an intelligence operator and a professional and I was not involved in policymaking. So I'm not the man to ask those questions.

Q. But after 25 years in the agency you



Photos by Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

Phillips: 'The CIA right now is the most open intelligence agency in the world'

really have no feelings one way or another?

A. Yes, I do. But I just retired so anything that I might come up with right now would not really be objective. I will only tell you this: I am absolutely convinced that at this time major covert actions are not necessary or justified in Latin America. That's the reason why, during my tenure of the last two years, the few things that were going on were quickly terminated.

Q. How many times did the CIA attempt to assassinate Castro?

A. Oh, no! As I said before, I have a secrecy agreement.

Q. But will you agree that the CIA has been involved in assassination attempts on foreign leaders?

A. In 25 years, many of them spent working with Cuban matters, I have never known of anyone within the agency planning or discussing assassination of a foreign leader—never. But there's no question that there's something there that I didn't know about. The one thing I do know for sure is that Fidel Castro is

presently alive and living in Havana.

Q. Was there any link between the assassination attempts on Castro and the assassination of Kennedy?

A. To my knowledge, no, and I'm convinced that I'm right. The reason is that when Lee Harvey Oswald went to Mexico during that famous trip, my job was to know what was going on in and around the Cuban Embassy, and I am convinced that he was rebuffed by the Cubans and went back to Dallas alone. He also approached the Soviets and I think they both thought he was a rather strange man and sent him on his way.

Q. What do you see as the effect of the current investigations of the CIA?

A. I see them as positive. I have no philosophical problems at all with the idea that we should be so thoroughly investigated. In this country now, given the way things are after Watergate, there is nothing less that will do.

Q. Is there a danger of the CIA becoming too open an institution?

A. Yes, but there is no other way. The CIA right now is the most open intelligence agency in the world.

Q. Some people suggest that the U.S. would be better off without a CIA.

A. That's just beyond my comprehension. I've found in 25 years that the world is still a pretty difficult place and there are certain jobs to be done. In the area that I know about, in Latin America, it's also true that we have the duty to know what other people are doing. Over the last five years more than 80 Soviets have been expelled from ten Latin American countries. We have the responsibility of knowing what they're up to. Incidentally, in that last five years not one CIA officer has been expelled from Latin America, despite all the headlines.